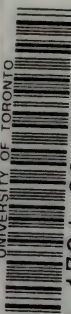


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Camden Society No. 27

THE  
HAMILTON PAPERS:

BEING SELECTIONS FROM

ORIGINAL LETTERS

IN THE POSSESSION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF HAMILTON AND BRANDON,

RELATING TO THE YEARS 1638—1650.

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EDITED BY  
SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER.



PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

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## PREFACE.

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THE present volume is the result of the permission kindly accorded to me by his Grace the Duke of Hamilton to examine and take copies of any papers at Hamilton Castle which might be useful to me in the composition of the *History of the Puritan Revolution*, on which I have now been for some years engaged. As soon as I looked into these papers it struck me that it would be a pity not to utilise for the benefit of the Camden Society the permission which I had obtained, and I set to work to make copies as well as the limited time at my disposal would allow. The whole of the present volume, with the exception of Letter 51 and the document given in the Appendix, which have been added from the State Papers, was copied in the thirteen days, which were all that I had to spare for the purpose. It is, therefore, possible that some future inquirer with more leisure may find that some errors have crept in; but it does not follow that many of the almost unintelligible sentences in the half-cyphered notes at the end of the volume were incorrectly copied. From marks in my manuscript I see that in most of these cases I read the sentences more than once to assure myself that they really were as I have given them. Probably the original writer confused himself in writing so largely in cypher, and the ungrammatical forms were the natural result.

In the early part of the volume the letters of Charles I. are omitted, as already printed in Burnet's biography of the Dukes of Hamilton. Hamilton's own correspondence is given completely

as having only been printed in Burnet's abstracts. Sir Robert Murray's letters from Newcastle during the King's imprisonment will doubtless be read with interest. The whole of these, as well as of Lauderdale's able correspondence, are given. The Royalist letters towards the end are but examples of a large number. I was obliged to leave out from want of time many which appeared to me to be of no special importance, and also those which were either altogether or partly in cypher, without any key being appended. The decyphered portions are printed in italics.

I am quite aware that these letters need more complete editing than I have been able to give them. Of the proceedings of the Royalist Court in France I am entirely ignorant; and, though there are probably in existence persons who could have given me help, I have not known to whom to apply. There was some difficulty in distinguishing between the dates of letters written as if the year began in January and of letters written as if it began on March 1. Fortunately, whenever the King is mentioned, there is a pretty clear indication whether the letter was written in 1648 or 1649.

Even with whatever drawbacks, however, I feel quite sure that the volume will be welcomed as an important contribution to the history of both England and Scotland.

At page 229, line 21, occurs the curious modern expression, "waxy" for "angry," and at page 238, line 5 from the bottom, "A Bull" for a falsehood. I am told, however, that neither of these are unknown expressions of the period.



## ERRATA.

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- Page 1, heading, *for* 1648 *read* 1652.  
„ 156, line 13, *for* Loudon *read* London.  
„ 216, line 3, dele [?].  
„ 223, line 2, *for* drectine *read* drectiue.  
„ 225, heading to Letter 150, *for* Blaxton *read* Blakiston.
-





# HAMILTON PAPERS,

1638-1648.

## 1. ACCOUNT BY THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON OF A CONSULTATION WITH THE BISHOPS.<sup>a</sup>

Cantt[erbury],<sup>b</sup> Santt [Andrew's],<sup>c</sup> Gall[oway],<sup>d</sup> Brec[hin],<sup>e</sup> Roos,<sup>f</sup>  
present.

His Ma<sup>tie</sup> did first acquent the B[ishop]s that he intend to send me home att this tyme as Commissioner for the establishing the peac of the contrie and good of the Church: Santt [Andrews] approuved the choyes and hoped for good suces. Cantt[erbury] disyred humbbli by way of quere of his Ma<sup>tti</sup> for what he was called; his Ma<sup>ts</sup> answer to heir and bear witnes what past and becaues he was acquainted with the prosiding of the busines hiderto he should not be ignorant of whatt past heir efter. 1638, May.

I intreted the Biss[hops] to declare whatt they expected frome me in generall; answer was mad, nothing but the peace of the Church. I craved liberty thatt I might expres in whatt particulars I desyred ther assistans. First, thatt they wold contribut their best assistans for this work, and in particular labor to reclame the ministers who was formerly conforme. As for the silenced ministers, I undertook to deale with. Answer was made, their lytill poure, the danger they were in in the contrie, and so seemed rather to desyre to stay heire then to goe home, bot thatt was overreuled, wher-upone I declared that which formerly I had said to his Matti, thatt

<sup>a</sup> Burnet, 42.    <sup>b</sup> William Laud.    <sup>c</sup> John Spottiswoode.    <sup>d</sup> Thomas Sydserff.

<sup>e</sup> Walter Whitfoord.    <sup>f</sup> i.e. Ross, John Maxwell.

1638, May. so far as lay in my pooer, I wold stand betwixt them and danger. Much was said on this poynt, and Cantt[erbury] expressed himself to the full, and well; so did his Ma<sup>ty</sup>; and they injoynd to dou ther best, and to goe presentely home, which they undertuck. His Ma<sup>ty</sup> intimatt<sup>d</sup> hou necessarie he conseved itt was thatt they should everie one live in ther owne diasies.

Cantt[erbury] seconded thatt motion, and the B[ishops] acknowledged itt was the fittest way. Much was said in argument concerning generall assemblies, and who they wer thatt [were] the representative boodie of the Church, and hou mater eclesiastick oought to be introdused; and in conclusion I was ordered to give assurans thatt nothing shoulde be intradused thatt was substantiall in the Church bot by the way of generall assembeles. A loong disput then was concerning the oath of the admission of ministers; concluded that itt should be no other then thatt which is warranted by the lawes, and the B[ishops] requyred to be spairing and moderatt for the presant both in urging that and the seramonese. Roos informed that this 3 yaires the Inglis cevis book was yused in his cathedrall. How that cam and by what warrant I understud not, bot his Ma<sup>ty</sup> acknoledge itt was deune by his order.

This was spoken by him a lytell before, and give for a reasone why he could not presently returne to his diaseis.

The King concludidd all with his wishes [?] for good succus, and a declaration upon my representation of what was the repoort of the Court, that I was, soore against my will, injoynd to undertack this journey, and for some beeing schuted [?] by me.

1638, Aug. 28.

## 2. WARRANT OF CHARLES I. TO THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

CHARLES R.

When as we have sined tow declarations,<sup>a</sup> the uone wryten by Traquare, the other by your self, we give you full pour and authoritie to yuse eather as yuo shall judge to be best for our servis; bot

<sup>a</sup> Printed in *Burnet*, 43.

if you make yuse of that declaratioun writine in your oun hand, we 1638, Aug. 23.  
command you expreslie (if within six ueikes efter the publicatioun  
of the same the most considerabill number of the bands be not  
delivered up), to publis the proclamatioun fourthwith drauen up  
with your oun hand,<sup>a</sup> which we have seined, and sea itt put in  
executioun to the best of your pouer.

Att Whythall the 28 May, 1638.

### 3. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON<sup>b</sup> TO CHARLES I.

MOST SACRETT SOVERAN,

Uhat uas bot surmeises when I wrytt to your Mat<sup>tie</sup> frome 1638. June 7.  
Berrick,<sup>c</sup> I find nou to be treu, to the unspeakabill grife of all your  
faithfull servants and loyall subjects, to sea the harts of al most  
eueri on of this kingdome alientend from ther Soveran; and they  
combined, in a more rebelious maner then I can expres, to resist and  
trampell under futt (if itt uer in ther pouere) royall authoritie, as  
is euident by the strange and unparralyed coarsis they have taken  
for most of your counselaes' freinds heath left them, and refyusis  
euen in mater of forme to pay that deutie which they ooght, nor as  
ue shew<sup>d</sup> of our domestickes.

The combyners have taken the keies of the poortes<sup>e</sup> of Ed[in]g-  
b[urgh] from the magistrates, and put gardes to them of att leist  
1500, under the pretens that I intend tresoune to them (which is  
not practicabell against rebeles), and that feling<sup>f</sup> of our intentionis  
att Dalketh of blouing them up, resolutioun is taken to cut the  
throts of the most principall of them.

<sup>a</sup> To declare the Covenanters traitors if they did not accept of mercy, and deliver  
up their bands within eight days. Misprinted "five days" in *Burnet*, 45.

<sup>b</sup> According to Burnet, he arrived at Berwick on June 3. An abstract of this letter  
is in *Burnet*, 55. Hamilton's letter from Berwick, referred to by the King on the  
11th, *Burnet*, 55.

<sup>c</sup> His instructions, dated May 16, with queries and explanations, are in *Burnet*, 46.

<sup>d</sup> Something like "as we expect" is needed.

<sup>e</sup> i.e. the gates.

<sup>f</sup> i.e. failing.

1638, June 7.

Determined they say ue ar (uhatt so ever itt coost) to put men uittell and amunition in the Castell of Ed[in]gb[urgh] To prevent thatt itt hes beine in consultatioune amongst them, if uer not fitt to sease on itt, and by that meines to frustratt our intentionis; if they gooe on with this resolution itt will be no difficult woork, for they will find no resistans, bot till this be put in execution they have taken that course thatt itt is imposable to put anie thing in itt; for they dou not only put gard att the gates therof, bot horses uaches all alongst the rood betwixt Dalketh and itt, uher the amunitione for the present is thatt uas sent, which I must in treuth acknoledge to have beene broght hidder by the cayre and diligens of Traquare.

They doe nou onlie thrett privatt men to singe<sup>a</sup> the Covenatt, bot euien the whool bodie of the sessioun, and it is questionabill if they dou not the lyke to my self and consall.

I have presumed to fare in presenting this disobediants ackts of ther to you and not to tell you thatt I have suppressed them, bot the treuth is I have not pouer to curbe them then by foorse to tech them obedianes, and if I should gooe about to dou itt I am sheure to faill and to reseve ane affront, and make them for the future more confident.

This hes caused me to take all the courses thatt I could think of (I must confes without the advyse of your consall, for I dare not trust them) to dissipatt this infinit armed multitud that is nou assembled in Ed[in]gb[urgh]. I shall not trubbill you Ma<sup>ty</sup> with reding all the particulare uayes, yeitt this far I humblie crave leive to informe your Ma<sup>ty</sup> of thatt I found meines to speake with sume of the principall ring leaders, to uhome I sheu the infinitt and inevitabell danger ther uer by which to rune ther countrie in by thes unjustifiabill coursis that they rune. I sheu the pouer your Ma<sup>ty</sup> had to dou itt, which I will neuer make dout of when so ever you shall think fitt to make yuse of that foorse which God heath

<sup>a</sup> i. e. sign.



armed you with, I have hop I have ganed sune ground on them; 1638, June 7.  
housoeuer I am sheur they went away trubled.<sup>a</sup>

I have sent Hadigtoun, Suethask,<sup>b</sup> Lorne, Dayall,<sup>c</sup> to preach the same doctring to them, and to assure them thatt if they (bot not frome me) does not dismise thoes people out of toune, thatt I am resolved to send for your Ma<sup>ties</sup> fliett and thatt pouer which uill foorse them to itt. This uay I must gooe for they have resolved to heire no proclamation nor declaration unlis itt containe all that is in your Ma<sup>ties</sup> with these additionnes, thatt the 5 artikeles of Perth be promised to be abrogat in the nixt Parliament, and till then they be declared indifferent; thatt a generall assemblee be presentlie indicted and what therin is concluded to be ratified the nixt parl[iament], thatt the pouer of the Biss[hops] be limited, according to sertan caveates estabesled by parliament, thatt the ministers oothe and admissioun be no other then the letter of the law injoynes. Your Ma<sup>ties</sup> declaration, tho fuller then they deserve, yeit beeing so fare short of this I intend not to devoolge for some feu dayes, lest beeing declared, protestatiouns be med against itt, which, tho I expeckt uhen so ever itt is doane, yett if the multitude be dissolved I conceive the consequans therof will be the lese; housoeue your Ma<sup>tti</sup> commands shall be obayed and itt published within 5 or 6 dayes, in ouch tyme euerie man hes promesed to dou the best with his freinds to make theim conceive aryht therof; bot Traquare and Rooxbrought ar redie to declare thatt I will be the reuing of countrie and your seruiss, if I dou not devyd the declaration, which I have given them sune hoope to adventur to dou if (and put my head in your Ma<sup>ties</sup> reverans [?]) they can give me ani assurans thatt the douing therof would effectt you Ma<sup>ttis</sup> serviss, which I must acknowledge I doe not louck for, so if you Ma<sup>tti</sup> be not plesed to condesend to these particulars I have mentioned, lett me humblie intreatt thatt, according to uhat you have beine plesed formerly to declare, thatt you prepare those men should be sent by sea and that you uould

<sup>a</sup> See Rothes' *Relation of Proceedings* (Bannatyne Club), 114.

<sup>b</sup> Southesk.

<sup>c</sup> Dalziel.

1638, June 7. adde tou thousand more to the number, they being of fare greter strenth heir then I thocht they had beine, and that present order may be given to the traned bands of Norththumberland, to the number of one thousand or 1,500, to repare to Beruick, under the command of sume discrette and trusti man, and likuis thatt cannon and amunitioun be sent thidder. Sume of the traned bands of Cumberland and Westmerland uould be plased in Cayrlyle, 500 I conseave uill be sufficient. Amunition and sume feu cannon uould lykuys be sent thidder, and this being doun you Ma<sup>tt</sup> uood dou ueill by you publick declaratioun to make knoen your resollution of cumming heir in persone with a royall armie, and of uictorie make no dout; bot when itt is obtened itt is bot ouer you ounepoure people, and hou fare your Ma<sup>tti</sup> in you greatt uisdome uill think itt [fit] to uink at ther madnesis, I dare not nor presume to aduise, onlie this much, give me leave to say I dare assure you, till sume part of ther madnes hes left them, that they will sooner loose ther lives then leive the Covenantt, or part frome ther demands, uich I confes ar most impertinant and damnable: this you Ma<sup>tti</sup> uill find to be treuth and thefor I humblie beshech you to take this seriously in consideratioun and to belive thatt I shall leive neglectkted no part of my deutie in the punctuall performances so far as lyes in [me] of uhat you have commanded, and tho I have uryt this to you I shall goe on in the same maner thatt you have given me instructiones for, tho itt should be uith the certan loose of lyfe of

Your Ma<sup>tties</sup> most obliged

Faithfull loyall subjectke

And humblest servant,

HAMILTON.<sup>a</sup>

Dalketh, 7 June, 1638, att 5 att night.

This is uhatt I nou find, and tho I have presumed so far and med ouer long a relation of this bussines, yeitt I must againe craive leave to tell you thatt I have nou hard thes Combiners ar resolved to

<sup>a</sup> Answered on the 11th. *Burnet*, 55.

foorse me to condesend to whatt I have mentioned, or they will 1638, June 7.  
 them selves call a parlamentt; this I heare bot from uone, bot be  
 confident they by God's grac shall neather be abill to dou the uone  
 nor the other in heast, for what I can not dou by strenth I dou by  
 cunning.<sup>a</sup>

#### 4. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.

MOST SACRED SOUERAN,

Shuch is the present conditione of affaires heire as I conceive my- 1638, June 9.  
 self bound almost dailie to give your Ma<sup>tie</sup> ane account of them, and  
 with all humblie to intret if you finde my letters not alwys rune in  
 on strane thatt ye will be plesed to imput itt to no other cause bot  
 to the alteratiouns that happeneth amongst us, which I knoe your  
 Ma<sup>tie</sup> will not thinke strange when ye ar plesed to consider uhatt  
 the busines is and [with] whome I have to deille. In my last I  
 sheu what multitudes uer conuined to gidder att Edingburg and uhatt  
 madnes possessed them, and treulie I may nou say ther numbers uas  
 gretter then could haue beine imaged, but I blese God I am in a  
 faire uay to dispers them, and thatt with out the douing of anie  
 thing which your M<sup>ties</sup> honoare suffers in, for I ame cume heire att  
 the humble desyre of the toune of Edingb[urgh] and that not before  
 the Combiners dismissed ther gards the keiped att the Castell and a  
 promis of ther goeing out of toune to ther seuerall homes, and only  
 sume heire of ther number. This I have effectked by prevatt deling,  
 for I uas deueelie aduertised thatt no proclamation they woold obey,  
 no not permitt the publishing of anie, uich uas not sufferabill, if  
 ther had beine anie meines to remed itt, bot sins your end is obtened  
 I hoope your Ma<sup>tie</sup> will not disproufe the uay, itt beeing a most  
 considerabill poynt ganed. On the uay hiddir I mett to the number  
 of att least 60 thousand, and aboufe 500 ministers, 4 of which uas

<sup>a</sup> He arrived at Edinburgh on the day this letter was written.



1638, June 9. prepared to have med speiches: by the men I conjectured uhat the mater uould be and therefor shunned itt, tho being tould thatt my hors uould be stopped, bot I uill confes itt was uith gretter difficultie then I will expres. This day I permitted 4 of them to cume to me, bot I caused adurtis that non of them uer silenced, and thatt ther discours should not tend against the present gouernement, uich accordinglie they did, and nothing uas spooke by them that uas a mise, bot the treuth is ther toone uas zelous and teires in ther eayes. I am nou prepariing the peoples mynds to conceaue a right of your Ma<sup>ties</sup> declaration, which I intend to publis in the most solem maner I can on the 13 of this mounth: it must be that uich doueth not injoyne the deliveri up of the covenant, to the uich they dou all so adheere that for the present they uill rather choes to endure the grettest of misereis then quyt: ther shall no soule leuing knoe bot I doe itt with out order, by which meines I hoop to ingadge my freinds to laboore the earnestier for itt to safe my heed, bot I have small hoop of suces.

I find by your aduocatt<sup>a</sup> (uho is no fitt man to serve you, bot the tyme is not proper for his remouvell) thatt he conseueth itt may be justified by laue, and the most of the lauires in the toun ar of the same opinioune. The grettest number of the sessione ar of the same mynd, bot I shall leive nothing undoune thatt can be thoght, be itt eather by threates or brybes, and uher as in my last I aduysed to prepare presentlie for forse, if your Ma<sup>tie</sup> resolved not to condesend to all thatt was demanded, I dou nou humblie intrett to delay the taking of that cours till you be again aduertised, for if ones ther be the leist noyeis of shipes or men to cum heire ther is no hoope att all euer to doue anie thing bot by a tottall conquest of this countrie, uich will be a taske of danger and sume difficultie: rather therfore suffer a tyme and lett us begine the uoorke amongst our selves, and then you may send assistans upon advertisement, and in the meine tyme I dare assure you Ma<sup>tie</sup> that nothing shall be attemptted or att

<sup>a</sup> Sir Thomas Hope.



leist effected eather on your Castels heire, or in Berwick or Cayr- 1638, June 9.  
lyll, for nou the multituds ar dispersing, I trust in God to keipe  
them a sunder or att the uoorst not fail to give your Ma<sup>ty</sup> tymus  
aduertisement. I trust this aduyse uill shut uith your intentions, and  
I hoope your Ma<sup>ty</sup> shall have no cause to repent if you shall be  
plesed to follow itt, nor thinke the uoors of me for giuing itt, for itt  
proseides frome a loyall hart: if you disproufe of itt, or if I haue  
erred, the punishment must be totallie myne, for I protest to God I  
communicatt uith non uhatt I urytt: houseouer I most humblie beg  
by on uoord frome your self to appoue or disprooue the careage and  
prosedings of

You Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s most humble  
obliged servant and loyall subject  
HAMILTON.

Holiroushou 9 June <sup>a</sup> att night.

##### 5. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.

MOST SACRETT SOUERAN,

Uith as sad a hart as ever man had, I nou wrytt to your Ma<sup>ty</sup>, thoe 1638, June 15.  
whatt I shall say greifes my soull and I am sheure will be most un-  
uelcome to your Ma<sup>ty</sup> yeitt I dare not neglect my deutie nor uill euer  
fail in my alledgens. Knoe then to my unspeakabill grif that all the  
faire hoopess I had when I wrytt my last ar quyt uanised, for nou I  
find most sertanlie thatt they uill neuer disclame nor giue up ther  
Coudenant all, nay manie conselers of statt themselues, alledging itt  
to be uarranted and to be justified by law, which is a tenent so dangerous  
to monarchie as I can not yett sea hou they can ueill stand to gidder;  
your aduocatt and all the laueires in the toune, as I am sertanlie in-  
formed, sayes no les then <sup>b</sup> that by lau all ther prosiding can ueill be  
uarranted eather before a generall assembleie or Parliament; this  
question I haue ooft beine desyred to aske of your aduocatt, bot I

<sup>a</sup> The word June substituted for May in Charles's hand.

<sup>b</sup> "They," MS.

1638, June 15. haue shund itt, for his resolution uould haue prouen to much to ther aduantage, bot why dou I trubbill your Ma<sup>tti</sup> with uhatt is past sines all my indevors can produs no other effectt then rebellion, uich I shall stryfe to hold of so loong as I can, not out of hoope to quyett itt by tretie bot that your Ma<sup>tti</sup> may be better prepared to curb them by foorse, which is the onlie meines nou left to teach them obedianes. That which now heath madded them is my refyusing to indickt a generall assemblie, and to giue assurans of a parliament to follow, and the inhoulding the publication of your Ma<sup>tti</sup> declaratioun, which I thought to haue doune on the 13, bot indeid durst not for feire of a present rupture, uich uould not haue prouen tymous: posatisfie they haue resolued thatt unles itt containe the granting of all thatt they haue petitioned for and farther uhatt is mentioned in ther 8 artikiles they will publickly protest against itt, and ther efter petition a gain for a generall assemblie and parlamen, and in the interim they not pressed to give obedians to thoes particulars mentioned in ther petitiounes and artikiles, uich refused they uill think uhatt is fittest for the preseruatioun of religioun as they term itt, and ther oune safties. Your Ma<sup>tti</sup> uould think it strange if you kneu hou manie heath aduysed me to condesend to this; I can not say the judgment leides them to itt, bot sertanly itt is ther feires, and I must ingeniously confes ther is tou just cause for all thoes who heath not sined the Couenant to aprehend danger, the Covenanters houlding thatt all thoes who ar not with them ar against them, and so red us first out of the uay. Bot this nor nothing thatt can be said shall ever make my tounge pronouns thatt uich I haue no uarrant for, and in my oune judgment think so unfitting for your Ma<sup>tie</sup> nou to dou, if I should lett your Ma<sup>tie</sup> knou uhatt is spok by men of all qualities publickly, nay out of the pulpets, uich is the sours from uich all this mischief springs, the uickett and accurssed ministers being the causer of all thir eviles, your Ma<sup>tie</sup> uould perhapes att the first think me much to blame thatt suffered itt, bot when you considered thatt they ar not to be punished or suppressed bot by foors, and thatt I uant nor can it be had heire,

ye uould then pardoun me and aproufe my uinking att them, bot 1638, June 15.  
 not to trubill your Ma<sup>tti</sup> uith more particulars, nor relatt uhat  
 cours is I haue taken for the effecting your Ma<sup>tties</sup> ends, and hou  
 slighted, I will sume up all in this few words, if you uill not be  
 content to admitt the Couenant to remaine, call a generall assenblie  
 uher ye may expeckt the Bishopes to be limited to a sertan caveatt  
 uich was med att ther first re-establishment, the 5 artikils of  
 Perth abrogated, and the admissioun of ministers by the presbiters,  
 and all this to be ratified in the ensheuing parll[iament] do not  
 expeckt nor loucke for ani thing bot disobedians; and becaues I  
 belieue your Ma<sup>tie</sup> can not condesend to this, I shall craue leiuie to  
 sett shortly done whott cours I haue and meines to take. First my  
 greatestt cayre shall be to keip the multitud (so greatt alreadie)  
 frome increasing; and leist sume mischief should haue befallen us all  
 att on instant thatt heath not sined the Couenatt, I haue aduysed  
 the Marquis of Huntlie to retire home and lykwys Desfoard [?] and  
 Ouglilbie, who will find securitie I hoope in ther oune housis and  
 uill be sume meines upone the back of the Countrie be some meanes  
 to hinder the totall joyning of the Noarth. I intend to take the  
 lyke cours with diuers others, by this I shall free the Couenanters  
 from sume part of ther jealousies of a sudent attempting by tresoune  
 some thing upon ther persones; by this I trust and the other faire  
 meines thatt I shall yuse they will be kept in temper; the Earle  
 of Sefoort, tho a perfytt hater of the Bisshope of Roos, I will send  
 home to kipe the Iyles men in the mynd ther of, uich as yeitt is  
 reasonabill good, and can nct say for anie greatt effectioun they  
 cayrie to your Ma<sup>tti</sup> bot becaus of ther splen to Lorne and uill dou  
 if they durst just contrarie to uhatt his men doueth; this cours I uill  
 take uith diuers others, and yeitt nou on shall k[n]oe thatt you Ma<sup>tti</sup>  
 intends to anie other way bot by tretie. I uill stay heir my self so  
 long as I can or indeid shall be fitt to uenture ane of your Consull,  
 and farther itt may be ue shall find it conueniant to permitt the  
 sessioun sett in Leith: to Stirling they dare not gooe, the toun and



1638, June 15. countrie hauing so threttened them, young and ould, Durie hath beine so busie, and bad instruments in this, and tho your Ma<sup>tie</sup> heath hard and not with out cause that they loufe monie, yett itt will not uork with them, bot why name I thoes tou, all ar bade, and your Ma<sup>tti</sup> heath beine strange abused and betrayed. I meine to publis your Ma<sup>tti</sup> declaration so soane as I can with out affronting or a present rapture, and perhaps chaynge and inlarge it (in thatt part I urytt) according as I find the tyme and ther yumers,<sup>a</sup> bot nouayes to ingadge you farder, yett to make them the more inexcusabill to all the uoordill,<sup>b</sup> for protest they will, and to acknowledge treuth, itt is a thing they may dou, for ther ar presidents for itt; itt beeing done att the Croose of Edinburg, when the proclamation uas red thatt declared the 5 artikiles of Perth to [be] established and ratified in Parliament. Therfor I will paas by itt, bot yeitt I can not urytt all I intend to dou nor indeed can I posatiffy resolvf, being forsed all most to take neu resolutiouns eueri daye to keip them quyett, tho by God I uill stand to my grounds till you be redie. Your Castels you may giue goone and lykuys the amunition last sent home, for itt is imposabill to put ani of itt in to Ed[in]bur[gh] Castell, or stur itt frome the place wher itt is, and when I sea I can keipe itt no longer, I mein to burn itt: you must expect thatt att the first breking you will have the uoors, bot when your pouer coumes, I hoope in God He will giue you uictorie, bot, belife me, itt uill be a difficult wooke and blodie. Take order with Berwick and Cayrlyll. Lett the traned bands in the adjoyning shyres be aduertysed to repare thidder, to Berwick I think I shall be forsed to gooe my[self]. Uould to God the powder thatt is in Dalkeith uer ther, bot itt can not be remoued.

I can not neglectk the representing to your Ma<sup>tti</sup> thatt the Earle of Antrum may be of yuse in this busines, for [he] is belouued by diuers of his name, and heath some pretentiounes to lands in

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* humours.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* world.

Kintyre, Iyles, and Heylands, and uill no dout repare to Iyrland 1638, June 15. and bring shuch foors with him as uill put thoes countries in that disorder, and chiflie if the deputi can spare ani of the armie ther to joyne with him, as I hoope thatt part of the countrie will dou us bot lytill hurtt.

The rouing friggates will be of greatt yuse, I beshich you thatt they may not be forgott, bot rather mor mead and of a lytill bigger syese; lett your preparatiouns be as priuatt as you can, and when they can not longer be coneled, lett me be aduertised uith expectation and by ane expres, for feire the packett should miscarie, for if thatt uoons be knoen ther will be lytell justice heire for ani, much les for

Your Mat<sup>ties</sup> most loyall  
obliged humbell servatt and obedient subject

HAMILTON.

Holirous hous, 15 June, att 12 a clock, 1638.

My Lord Heries mett me with sume of the Earle of Niddales freinds, bot they yused him as they did us, protestang med[?] most of them leine him. Housoever it uill not be amise for your Ma<sup>tti</sup> to thank Niddall.

Most sacred Soueran, sines the uryting of this other I haue reseued your Mat<sup>ties</sup> gracious letter, and in the midst of affliction itt giues me comfort thatt ye ar not as yeitt displeyd with my uayes. God knoeth if my lyfe uood appeais them and settill Royall authoratie I uould uoolinglie giue itt, and I shall not stryufe to preserv itt for ani other end then to serue you; hauing said alredie so much I uill not enter in repetitiounes and your Ma<sup>tti</sup> commands not diffing much froome uhat I am about to put in executioun, onli thus, I am sorie for what I urytt in my last, for by itt my uaknes and credulatie appeires, bot yeit itt is pardonabill, for faine uould I have cached att ani thing thatt tended to the quyett ending of this busines so itt uer uith your Mat<sup>ties</sup> honoure,

1638, June 15. which God of his greatt mersie grant, which shall euer be prayed for,  
tho not hoped by

Your Ma<sup>ties</sup> most loyall obliged

Humbill servant and obediant subject

HAMILTON.<sup>a</sup>

Holiroud hous, 15 June, att on a klok.

THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.<sup>b</sup>

MOST SACRETT SOUERAN,

1638, June 24. I reseud your Ma<sup>ties</sup> of the 20 on the 23 with grett joy finding  
therby that you kneu these peoples madnes still incressed, yet your  
Ma<sup>ty</sup> doueth not imput itt to anie falt in the managine of the  
busines nor disaproufes of uhatt I haue donne. Itt is happie that  
your Ma<sup>ties</sup> preparatiouns is in shuch forduerdnes, and I dou most  
humblic thank your Ma<sup>ty</sup> for letting me knoe itt, for accordingle  
my indevoors and cariage shall be, which nou onlie tends to gaine  
so much tyme as till they be redie, which is a more difficult taske  
then perhapes your Ma<sup>ty</sup> can imagin, for they have prest me so  
home for the present indictting of a generall assemblie as I have  
beine forsed to tell them thatt I can not condesend ther to, uith  
out the randering up of the Couenant, and the douing of seuerall  
other things, which they say they will all louse ther lyfes souner  
then condesend to. If ther indictting of on uer all the mater uer  
not great or immediatlie upone that the seaseing of your Castels,  
or ther killing of thoes that doueth yett stand for your Ma<sup>ty</sup>, bot  
ther beeing so loonge before you Ma<sup>ty</sup> in the feilds uith the formed  
bodie of ane armie is that which feaireth me, for uhat then might

<sup>a</sup> There seem to have been one or two letters after this which were seen by Burnet (58, 60), and which are not now at Hamilton Palace.

<sup>b</sup> Answered by the King on June 29, *Burnet* 61.



not be undertaiken by them, when they ar led by feurie and 1638, June 24.  
despare.

The consideration of thes dangers, and not beeing abill longer to satisfie them with words draufe me to my last shifts, and med me tell (bot privatlie) to sume of the best affected of them that I could not gooe farder on in treatie, ther insolenseis uere so manie and great, bot uoold returne to your Ma<sup>tti</sup>, and aduyse you to take a nother coous with them, uherupone I uas desyred to make the best of ther prosidings, affirming that they had no other intention, and if I uoold leiuie them thus, the next day after my parting, they uoold gooe on with ther resolutiones, which I haue mentioned, bot if I uoold promis to moufe your Ma<sup>tti</sup> in ther behalf they uoold humblie supplicatt a neu, and declare uhat ther mening uas by the Couenant, which I undertuck to dou if they uoold rest quyett and euerie on of them gooe home to ther seuerall housis, which they promised to dou conditionallie I uoold promis to returne and giue them ane ansuer within 3 uekes. This I confes I think ane happines to haue obtened, for they being oons totallie dissipatt, and if your Ma<sup>tti</sup> think fitt to permitt the sesiou to set in Edingburg, and by the publisg of your Ma<sup>tis</sup> declaratioun in the uay I mentioned in my last to my Lord of Cantterberie, I am confident thatt att ther meiting againe, they uill not be so knet and combyned to gidder as nou they ar, for manie honest men uill clerli sea that your Ma<sup>tti</sup> intends no innouation of religioun, and tho I have no hoope that euer they will giue up the Couenant yett itt may be they uill not so adheer to itt as nou they dou, therfor I shall humblie beg leiuie to come up, itt beeing the onlie meines nou left to hindder a present rapture, yett I nather will nor dare aduenture to dou itt, without you Ma<sup>tis</sup> uarrant, bot confidantlie I dare assure your Ma<sup>tti</sup> prejudis you shall receave non ther by, for I shall leiuie that order heir that thoes uho uill stand for your Ma<sup>tti</sup> shall be better prepared against my returne then nou they are; and uithall I dou humblie beshich thatt ye uill be pleased not to think thatt I haue anie end or intention to free my self frome this dangerous imployment, for uher as before your Ma<sup>tti</sup> com-

1638, June 24. manded me, and against my uill, bot in obediens I undertuck itt, nou I uould grife beyond expressioun if your Ma<sup>tti</sup> should not make yuse of my pouer servis till the countrie uer broght againe to obediens, and nou I uill beg that uhich formerlie. I uas unuilling to reseave, for tho you uer not my most gracious soueran (with all humilitie I speake itt) bot my freind, I uould blush to scrink from you att this tyme.

You Ma<sup>tti</sup> trane of alterie<sup>a</sup> consisthes of a fitting number, take cayre thatt nothing be uenting that belongs ther to, I shall onlie aduyse thatt sume peisses of battrie may be added and humblie make offer of six piesses that uas sent me frome Sued, onlie I feire ther ar no bullets thatt will fitt them they not being of the right Inglis seyes, bot Broune the foounder uill quicklie supply thatt uant, they lye on the toure uharf and must be fitted with land cariages.

Beruick (which nou I account secured) will be the onlie fitt plac for your magaseines, uhidder most of your peises of battrie may be sent by sea, with uhatt other prouisiounes shall be found nesisarie, the lighter peises uould be broght amongst with the armie, bot the horsis for thoes greatt peiseis uould be prouyded in the soouth, for ther ar non to be had ther that uill be abill to drau them ther.

As for the six thousand landmen I formerlie aduysed should be sent with the fleett to the Forth, and in the uhich your Ma<sup>tie</sup> doueth nou requyre my opinioun itt will not be nesisarie to send so manie, for I knoe not hou to secure ther landing, yet I uould aduyse thatt 1000 or 1500 land men may cume a longst with the fleet, if it uer bot to make incursiouns upone the coosts of Fyfe and Loudian, for ther by sume deuertiouns uill be mead, but, I hould itt obsolutlie nesisarie thatt bisquett and cheese be put in witteling shipes and they to cume alongst with the fleett for att leist ten or tuelf thousand men to geive them for 3 mounthes that if you find cause you may shepe so mani frome Beruick or Neucastell and transport them, wher you shall find they uill be of greater aduantage for the accomplishing your Ma<sup>tti</sup> ends, and uittels is not to be had in the

<sup>a</sup> i.e. "artillery."



Noorth. Some beere uould lykuys be prouyded, and emtie caaske 1638, June 24. and some seake<sup>a</sup> to make beuerage.

I ame in treti with the Earle of Mare for the keiping of the castell of Edinburg, and if I can gett itt out of his hands I dare promis your Ma<sup>tie</sup> att leist the making of the ordinans ther unseuisabill, bot so long as he is in itt ther is no hoope of douing anie thing thatt is fitting for the aduansment of your seruise, he is himself to uaake<sup>b</sup> and shuch a companie of disaffected people about him. Your Ma<sup>tie</sup> castell of Dumbarton is secured and uill be the onlie fitt place for the foorsis thatt shall cum from Iyrland to land att for manie reasounes which I shall not trubbill your Ma<sup>tie</sup> nou with, bot itt is nesisarie thatt the Deputie<sup>c</sup> should be aduertised therof, and thatt he have order to land his men ther with as much vittels and amunition as he can send.

They ar still sending for more armes and amunitionn not onlie from Hollen bot lykuys from Hamburg, Breme, Lubick, Dansick, and Sued, thatt if one part should faill they may be suppleud from ane other. Your Ma<sup>tie</sup> embassa[dor] att Hamburg and your agents in Holand and Campheir uould be commanded to make stay of all shepes that belongeth to anie of your subjects that carieth ani shuch commodities as prohibited and to schearch all others thatt ar bound for Scotland, this uould not be neglected nor trusted to the ordinarie poost, bot expressis sent to each of them, and if you be on good termes with the King of Denmarke he may easilie stoope any thatt comes out of the Scound, if not, a ship of your M<sup>tie</sup> ooune may lie ther (I mein att Elshenour) to intercept ani thatt comes frome Lubeck, Sued, or Danseke, bot aboufe all (as your Ma<sup>tie</sup> doueth weill observe), be cayrfull thatt moneis be not uanting; for with out thatt ther is no goooing on with your intentionns, which I pray the Lord of Heauen to blis and send thatt happi suces to them that is prayed for and uissed by

Your Ma<sup>ty</sup> most humbill, fathfull, obligeid  
seruant and loyall subject,

Dalketh, the 24, 10 a clk. att night.

HAMILTON.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.*, sack.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.*, too weak.

<sup>c</sup> of Ireland.

7. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.<sup>a</sup>

1638, June 29. MOST SACRETT SOUERAN,

Since my last from Dalketh I haue beine prest beyond expresseioun for the indietting of ane assemblie and calling of ane parliament, bot they findding my ansuers not sutabill to ther desyres they haue of neu supplicatt renewing ther desyres by urytt for ane assemblie and parlament, stryuing lykuys in itt to cleeir ther intentions consarning the Covenant, which tho I haue giuen ane absolut refusall to, yett I was forced to promise thatt I uould acquent your Ma<sup>ty</sup> with ther desyres. I will not trubill you Ma. ueth the reding the impertinenseis of ther demands, nor the uayes I haue beine compelled to taik to keipe them from a present ruptur, bot this fare I thanke God itt heath sucseided thatt they uill expect your Ma<sup>ties</sup> ansuer till the 5 of August, and all or most of them uill gooe hoome to ther oun housis. The onlie meaines left me to [g]aine so much tyme was by saying that I uould in the intereime repare to coart (if your Ma<sup>ty</sup> uould permitt me) and retorne against that day with the express significatioun of your plesoure, and tho I can not thinke itt uill proufe satisfactorie to them, yett I shall desyre to be the messenger, for I hoope by that tyme your preparatiouns uill be in that forduerdnes thatt they may be compelled sumuhatt more to regard uhatt is commanded and said then nou they done.

I haue no farther to ask to uhatt I wrytt in my last, bot that I finde the Earle of Mare a creature opiniature<sup>b</sup> beyond measure, and uooyd of rasound. How fare I shall be abill to preuall with him I can not yett tell, bot if uer not out of the feaire and apprehentioun I haue of the peopeles present reaseing of the place, nay eiuén of his volantarie putting of itt in ther hands, and so by thatt meines I preuented of uhatt I intend, I mene not onlie the making the cannone in the castell unseuissabill, bot the blouing up the buluarks. I uould cominand him in your Ma<sup>ties</sup> name to render up his charge, bot this beeing nou in agitatioun and on of my prinse-

<sup>a</sup> Abstract given in *Burnet*, 59.<sup>b</sup> Sic.

pall carys, I can not urytt posatisfie, bot uhat arte and industrie can 1638, June 29.  
be thoght on shall not be left onpracktised to gett thatt castell out  
of his hands.

Sir, I uill say no more for the present, this dispache beeing onlie  
to advertis your Ma<sup>ty</sup> thatt till the 5 of August you haue tyme to  
make readie your preparatiouns, and in the interime ther shall be  
nothing omitted to lett this unhappie people sea your goodnes, ther  
madnes, uickednes, and the danger they ar in if they shall still  
adhere to this couenant, be confident that your Ma<sup>ties</sup> servis shall  
reseau no prejudis by my upcumming, itt beeing the onlie meines  
to gaine more tyme (if neid be) and to make them the whylest  
quyett, nor longer att court neids my stay be then one day or tuo.  
God of his mersie make your Ma<sup>ty</sup> ppoourfull and abill to curbe  
ther rebellious, and grant me meanies to shoe the uoordill hou  
sensabill I ame of your fauours and the treu and unfaned seall <sup>a</sup> of his  
haart, who uhiles ther is lyfe in itt shall neuer be other then

Your Ma<sup>ties</sup> most humbill, loyall, obliged  
subjecte, and most humbill servant,

HAMILTON.

Holiroud Hous, the 29 June, att ten a cloock in the moorning.

## 8. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.

MOST SACRETT SOUERAN,

1638, June 29.

Efter the uryting of this other I reseued the packet (itt is your  
Ma<sup>ty</sup> fauours and letters thatt keepes me alieue), otheruayes my hart  
uould burst, for as I shall ansuer to God I neuer haue joyed minout <sup>b</sup>  
but when I red and consider them, for ther I doe not onlie find my  
oune ppoore indeuours approuen, bot I sea your Ma<sup>ties</sup> foruwardnes in  
think on uayes to suppres the madnes of these people by me more  
heated then euer anie uas, yeitt I uould not haue your Ma<sup>tie</sup> to  
think thatt the multitud knoes uhatt they dou, for they are led on  
blindleies [?], bot yeitt they haue nott a feu guydes.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.*, zeal.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.*, minute.



1638, June 29. Your Ma<sup>tties</sup> derectiounes ar cleir consarning thoes particulares thatt I desyred to knoe hou I should proseid in, and by God grac I shall uaalk as I ame directed.

Ther is no dout to be mead bot the publishing of your Ma<sup>ty</sup> declaration is most nesisarie, and the more fauorabill itt is the more inexcusabill they uill be if they protest; and, as your Ma<sup>te</sup> ueill obserueth, the juster groounds ye will haue to take up armes to repres the rebellioun. There is onlie nou one consideratioun thatt makes me uish them not to protest—to uitt, the hinderuns of the good impressioun that itt uould make in the mynds of the multitud; for, tho your declaration contiened all that they demand, itt uill not gaine belife with the people if they tak thatt cours; bot housoeuer, upone my credit with your Ma<sup>tti</sup>, itt shall be publised with thatt addition which by my Lord of Cantt. I understand your Ma<sup>tti</sup> heath permittid me to insert (before my parting from hear), which I dare beoaldlie affirme uill not prooffe to your Ma<sup>tties</sup> disadvantage; nay, I feeid myself with sume hope thatt the mynds of manie honest men will be satisfied ther by [it], as I trust the doune sitting of the Session in Edingburge will uoorke lykwys sume good effeekt, which I pray God of his infinitt goodnes grant itt dou.

More I will not trubill your Ma<sup>tti</sup> uith att this time, onlie I can not bot take noteis of on uoord in your letter, and thatt is, you pittie me. Trulie if your Ma<sup>ty</sup> kneu all, you uould find my taske hard; bot by thatt ye have expressed, my hart is [more] joyed then if you bestoued a million of pounds on

Your Ma<sup>ttys</sup>

Most humbill loyall obliged subject

and most humbill servant,

HAMILTON.

Holiroud hou.,

29, att 11 att night.

## 9. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.

MOST SACRETT SOUERAN,

1638, July 4.

I was much joyed to finde by your Ma<sup>tt</sup>s most gracious letter of the 29<sup>a</sup> thett you did not disproue of my desyre to come up, and I dou humblie thank you for giveing me leave soe to do. I dare promis your seruic shall not suffer ther by, nor I presume to mooufe<sup>b</sup> anithing as a shut<sup>c</sup> of myne that shall be displeasing to your Ma<sup>tt</sup>i or lend in the least degree to the prejudis of your seruic.

Upone the last of June I did by proclamation mak knoen your Ma<sup>tt</sup>i plesoure consarning the returning of the session to Edingb[urgh], which, I dou assure your Ma<sup>tt</sup>i<sup>e</sup>, gaife greatt satisfaction to all good men, and troubled extremly manie disaffected. Upon the 2 of this instant they satt doune. I find they may be of exsiding greatt yuse to your Ma<sup>tt</sup>i, which heath cased me apply myself with all the industrie I can to gaine them. This day,<sup>d</sup> in the morning, I med knoene your Ma<sup>tt</sup>i<sup>e</sup>s plesoure consarning the publishing of the declaration, with the which I may say most of them, if not all, was ueill satisfied, as may appear by the actes med ther upone, tho procured with sume arte, and ther letter to your Ma<sup>tt</sup>i<sup>e</sup>, which is not as yett sined, tho condesendet on. The declaration was sined by us all, and enmediattlie proclaimed att the Croose; bot notuithstanding of the extraordinarie grace itt contened, and all the industrie and laboure of your Ma<sup>tt</sup>s faithfulest seruants heire, it uas protested against, wherby doueth appear ther strange madnes, yett notuithstanding therof, I hoope, when itt is ueued by the subject, thatt it will reclame manie. Ther is order for the spedie publishing the same throu the uhoole kingdome, and letters to gooe alongst theruith to the best affected in euveri part of the countrie.

I will not enter further in particulers, nor presume more on your Ma<sup>ts</sup> patiens att this time, sines I ame to be with your Ma<sup>tt</sup>i within feu dayes, att which tyme (by my part of heaven) I shall treulic

<sup>a</sup> Printed in *Burnet*, 61.<sup>b</sup> *i.e.*, move.<sup>c</sup> *i.e.*, suit.<sup>d</sup> This part abstracted in *Burnet*, 64.

1638, July 4. represent to your Ma<sup>tti</sup> the estatt of this country, and nothing shall be conseled from your Ma<sup>tie</sup> that is knoen to

Your Ma<sup>tties</sup>

Most humbill and most oblidged

Loyal subject and obedient servant,

HAMILTON.

Holiroud houss,

4 Julie, att 12 att night,  
1638.

#### 10. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.<sup>a</sup>

1638, Aug. 11. MOST SACRET SOUVERAN,

I find no chaynge in ther people exsept itt be to uoorse (if that culd be). They are expecting your Ma<sup>tties</sup> ansuer, and persuaded thatt full satisfaction will be given to all ther demands, and this they have frome England; yett constantlie they goe on with ther preparatiounes and trayning of men, bot sume ther ar as I ame informed who ar more mouved when they heire thatt your Ma<sup>tti</sup> douth not intend to send force against them, then they uer when they expected your royall self to cume with ane armie, which gives me sume hoope that deuisionne may be wroght amongst them, the honnestest and best affected being of a nother mynd; and tho I am infinitlie tradused and left by manie of my neirest freinds, and lykuys by sume thatt I have much obliged, yett I have better hoopes then I had this long tyme to doe your Ma<sup>tti</sup> sume seruiss, and thatt in such a uay (as I trust) in some kynd uill be to your Ma<sup>ttis</sup> content; so faine uould I haue it so as perhapes I feid myself with hoopes, and uith thatt uich it may be I shall not be abell to effectt.

Upon Tyusday, the 14, the Consall meites. I ame not yett resolved hou fare to acquent them att that time uith your Ma<sup>tties</sup> resolutiounes, hauing not as yet had tyme throulie to sound them.

<sup>a</sup> Written the day after the Marquis's return to Edinburgh, after his first visit to Court.

Uith in a day or tou ther efter I meane to give the Covenanters 1638, Aug. 11.  
 your Mat<sup>tis</sup> answ<sup>r</sup>, which shall be deliuered as far to the aduantage  
 of your Mat<sup>tis</sup> seru<sup>s</sup> as so ueak a man is abill. I haue wrytin s<sup>u</sup>me  
 particulars to my L: of Cantt[erbury], which I have desyred him to  
 acqu<sup>e</sup>nt your Mat<sup>ti</sup> with, because I will put your Mat<sup>ti</sup> to as lytell  
 truble as posabill I can, and yett not fail in the discharging of that  
 greatt trust which your Mat<sup>ti</sup> heath beine plesed to commit to

Your Mat<sup>tie</sup>

Most fathfull loyall subject and humblest servant,

Holiroud hou,

HAMILTON.<sup>a</sup>

The 11 of August, att night.

# 11. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.<sup>b</sup>

MOST SACRED SOUERAN,

1638, Sept. 12.

According to you Mat<sup>tis</sup> commandment, and as I was directed  
 by my instructiouns, I acquainted my Lo. Santt [Andrews] and the  
 rest of his breidering uith your Mat<sup>tis</sup> plesourr.

They uer infinitelie greiued to heaere thatt ther might be ane  
 assemblie. I shall not presume to troudbill your Mat<sup>ti</sup> with reading  
 their arguments against itt, for they uer no other then thoes you  
 haue formerlie herd, onlie expressed with greatt weehimensie; as I  
 haue just rasoune to belieue they ar no uayes plesed uith me, bot God  
 and your Mat<sup>ti</sup> can baire me uitnes uhatt my part to them heath  
 beine.

<sup>a</sup> On August 14, Colonel Alexander Hamilton, the engineer who made the cannon  
 for the army in the following year, wrote to the Marquis on certain charges  
 brought against him by the head of his house, "That I may begin with that which  
 hath least colour of truth—namely, that I should have reported to many ministers  
 and others that your L<sup>p</sup> was satisfied with the covenant in your heart—this is so far  
 from any appearance of verity that both y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>p</sup>, and all your friends with whom I  
 spoke in that subject, can witness that it has been my greatest regret to find your L<sup>p</sup>  
 so averse and contrary to it as the Bishops themselves could be no more." He then  
 proceeds to deny that the Marquis knew anything of his manufacture of cannon.

<sup>b</sup> This was written on Hamilton's second return from England bringing with him  
 the King's covenant. It is abstracted in *Burnet*, 78.



1638, Sept. 12. Whither they will come to Court or retur[n]e presentlie to the North I can not tell, bot all of them heath said that if ther be ane assemblie they will be ther.

The Biss[hop] of Santt [Andrews] seimes still willing to demitt the Chanselers place, bot expectes a large recompens for his loong seruise. 2,500 I tould him perhaps your Ma<sup>ty</sup> might be mouued to giue him, which I believe he will exsept, so if your Ma<sup>ty</sup> think fitt to bestow thatt on him, you may be plesed by your letter to me command that I sea him payed itt (for with Traquare he uill not deall) at the tow next tayrmes of Martimes and Wissontyd, by equall halves. A letter uould lykuy be urytt to him, taking notis of his good seruise, and thatt nou, in regard of his ould age, your Ma<sup>ties</sup> doueth exsept of his demissioun. Itt uill be best (in my opinion) that the letter be sent to me to deliuer, and the souner thatt this be, the more itt uill proufe for the aduansement of your Ma<sup>ties</sup> seruise, to promott which shall euer be the chifest studie,

Of your Ma<sup>ties</sup>

Most humbill faithfull seruant

And most loyall and obedient subjecte,

HAMILTON.

Ferribrig, 12 Sept. 1638.

## 12. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.<sup>a</sup>

1638, Sept. 17. MOST SACRET SOUERAN,

Tho I can urytt no sertantie to your Ma<sup>ty</sup> uhatt the succes of your affaires uill be, yet in obediens to your commandmentes, I ame bould to trubbell you; all I can say is that so manie of your Counsall as I haue met with seamies not to be displeased with the resolution your Ma<sup>ty</sup> heath taken, particularlie I must craue leive to mention Hadington, who in a most hartie maner, hes offered lyfe, fortoun, and he is abill to make for the accomplishing your endes,

<sup>a</sup> Answered Sept. 22. *Burnet*, 79.



if all of them goe thatt reall uay I ame not out of hoope, bot your 1638, Sept. 17.  
Ma<sup>tti</sup> uill haue so considerabill a partie heire, as may make thoes  
thatt shall proufe still stubborne, knoe ther deuties and your M<sup>tties</sup>  
goodnes to them.

Ther uas a soleme fast keepid heire, and throu the uhole king-  
dome which caused me stay att Dalketh, being unuilling to be in so  
puplick a place as Edingburg, and to haue forborne going to Church  
uold haue prouen uerie offensife to them, in the yumer they ar nou  
of, to haue gone I conseed did not stand with my deutie, nor the  
conueniansie of your affaires: by this meanes I haue lost one uhol  
day.

The differenses betwixt the ministers and layettie about the  
choyseng of the Commissioners for the assemblie is not yett re-  
mouued, nor shall suddentlie if I haue my will.

Thursday the 20 is the day that posatisfie your Ma<sup>tti</sup> ansuer is  
expected, and if then ane assemblie be not condesended to they ar  
prepared to goe on themselves, and for that end haue apoynted the  
next 5 ensheuing dayes for the choysing ther Commissioners throu  
the uhol kindgome, bot I trust in God the Couseleres' resolution  
and ther deuties to you uill be shuch as on thatt day I shall con-  
desend to the indicting of itt, and I hoope the euent uill not proufe  
altogider damnable, tho good in itt is not to be expected.

By the ending of this weeke I shall be abill to giue your Ma<sup>tti</sup>  
ane account of much which you haue beine plesed to [entrust] me  
uith, God grant me as much strenth and abilitie tu goe throu uith itt,  
as I haue loyaltie, for neuer poure man had a heuire bourding lying  
on him then for the present is undergone by,

You Ma<sup>tti</sup> most loyall and faithful subject,

And humblest seruant,

HAMILTON.

Haliroud hous, the 17 of Sept. 1638.

I dou humblie intreatt your Ma<sup>tti</sup> thatt you woold forbeir sending  
your ordinan[c]e to Hull till you har ones againe from your  
servant.

13. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.<sup>a</sup>

1638, Sept. 24. MOST SACRETT SOUERAN,

Ther heath so manie seuerall pasages happened this weik in priuatt amongst us at the Counsell as I am hardlie abill to remember them, much les sett them doune in urytt, the faithfull indeuores of your seruants uas the occasion therof, by ther freidome in discours tending to moufe one a nother to rest satisfied with your Ma<sup>ties</sup> grace to us and the uholl kingdome, bot I uill not trubbill your Ma<sup>ttie</sup> with a relation ther of att this present, yett I can not omitt the letting your Ma<sup>tt</sup> knoe that thes thre lords Traquar, Roxbrught, and Southaske, to whome I first communicatt you Ma<sup>tties</sup> plesoure, and who had formerlie promised and subscriybed, that if your Ma<sup>tti</sup> might be mouued to condesend to thoes particulares which you haue yielded to, thatt with ther lyfes and fortunies they woohl searfe you, to the suppressing of all shuch as should not acquies ther with, heath hidder to med ther uoord good bot particularlie Southaske, who beyond his accustomatt courage (as I shall ansuer to God) heath shoen him self as stout and forduart as my hart could haue uished, nor dou I mention ther 3 to detract frome manie others of the Consall who, if they be not poysened again, will searfe you faithfullie, and if reasonabill right sett.

Upone Thursday the 20 the Covenanters sent to me to knoe wher I uould appoynt them to cume and reseave the signification of you Ma<sup>tti</sup> pleasure. My ansuer uas uhen they pleased, for I intended to conuein the Counsell the morrow, and on Saturday the 22 publis your Ma<sup>ties</sup> plesoure to the uholl liges. Upon Fryday the 21 eayrlie in the morning they sent ther commissioners doune to salut me, and reseau the ansuer if I was redie. Ther past not much, bot itt was to this effectk thatt the consall uas presentlie to meit, and I

<sup>a</sup> Abstracted in *Burnet*, 79.

thocht itt fitt that I should first acquaint ther Lo. with your Ma<sup>ty</sup> 1638, Sept. 24. plesoure, yett for ther joy and satisfaction I desyred them to be confident that all which they desyred and more your Ma<sup>ties</sup> had granted; for ane fre assemblie and parll[iament] should be immediatelie indyted if they uer not the hinderers of itt, and thatt the morrow in the afternounge they should knoe all the particulares. Ther was amongst them that hunge ther hearde, bot yett the tungen expressed thanks. I delayed going to consull thatt morning att the desyre of sume who I had imployed to speak with the Couenanters, who put me in hoope they uould acquies with your Ma<sup>ties</sup> plesoure and uissed me to speake with sume of them and thatt in a frea and friendlie uay and knowing thatt whatt I had said to them and manie of the Consall neather could nor uould be kept as ane secrett I uas eaysielie indused to condesend ther to, and so spent thatt morning in opening my self to diuers of them, who to me apeired to rest rasonabillie satisfied, bot they infinitelie desyred thatt I uould lett them sea the ueri proclamation; to giue satisfaction I condesended to sho the hearde ther of, which they knew ueill a-nufe before, for [you] may be plesed to imagen thatt the Consall being not onlie to be sounded by me, bot I injoynd to knoe perfectlie whatt they uould doe in cayse you Ma<sup>ties</sup> condesended to shuch and shuch particulars uould not conseall what I had sade to them (tho neuer so much conjured to seccrasie) frome the Couenanters, so I thocht in this cayse a seming freidoum was not amisse, yett all this prodused no other effect then the Couenanters labouring to perswad me to desist frome thinking of reneuing the Confession of fath, as knoing weill that to be the onlie meanes eather to uorke a deuision amongst them, or to satisfie you Ma<sup>ties</sup> subjectes: for to deall cleerlie with your Ma<sup>ties</sup> I cannot positiflie affirme that I could name manie eather Consellers or others who uould eather uith hart or hand go alongst with you Ma<sup>ties</sup> unles the said Confession had bein uarranted by royall authorities to be obseryued, which they knew to uell, and therfore mead all the opposition thatt possabillie they could: for when the could not preuall with me, then they



1638, Sept. 24. labored others of the Consall, not to be ani uayes satisfied with thatt which uas intended to be doune, and I finding no hoope of the Couenanters reseiuing satisfaction bot gret danger by delay, I resolved to gooe on, having reseued full assurance frome most of the Counsell (and that by oath) that they rested satisfied, and uould so declare them selues.

Thatt same efternounge being Fryday the 21 I conuened the Consall in as frequent a number as heath met in this Kingdome. To them I mead knoen, uith uhatt art and industrie I could think of, your Ma<sup>ties</sup> peious intention for the preseruacion of the treu reformed religion, the laues and liberties of this kingdome, and thatt for the sauing us frome yuter reuing, and keeping of peace in this land, you had doune manie thinges you uould neuer haue beine indused to haue giuen way to exsept out of thatt consideration, so your Ma<sup>ties</sup> letter was red, which uarranted and injoynd the subscription by all your Ma<sup>tties</sup> subjectes, the uich was ordered to be registratt; thereafter uas red the charge to all commissioners and ministers to sea the said confession subscryved by all your Ma<sup>tties</sup> subjectes, and last of all those particular graces of your Ma<sup>tie</sup> which I uas uarranted to publish by proclamation, the uich I insert in one of you Ma<sup>ies</sup> blankes. This being doune ther uas a generall silence amongst us, I thought not fitt long to suffer this, nor yet to lett disaffectionatt oones begine which caused me desyre the Tresurar to expresse himself whither he uas not fulli satisfied uith uhatt be had herd red, his speich uas full and veri satisfactorie, and according to his promis ther efter 10 or 12, who I had most consciens in, being called by ther names, agreied to uhatt he had said, sune by feu uoords and sum by longer expressiounes, so befor onie uho uer misdouted uer permitted to speak the most considerabill number had declared themselves fullie satisfied, thereafter itt was put to uoyseing, bot thatt was interrupted by the desyre of some who had not hiddertill spooke desyring to be cleared in sume thinges, uich I could not refyuse sinse they pretended consciense, aleging thatt a busines of

so greatt consequens oocht not to be concluded with out full disput 1638, Sept. 24. and mature deliberation, which was condended to, and after long arguing, itt was concluded thatt we had full cause to rest fullie satisfied, yett sines a confession of fath was to be sined, manie desyred thatt ther might be one night giuen them to think of itt; finding manie inclyned to this and that if I had further prest the present subscription, the same might haue fallen out when we mead our last acte, I declared thatt I had no meaning thatt anie thing should be singed thatt night, bot thatt all might be red, and the morrou morning att 7 a clooke we might meitt and end the uoork, and with all I med this protestation, thatt no manes hand I uould exsept uhoes contiens lyfe and fortune went not a longst with itt. Nothing more was doune thatt night, bot order for the registration of your Ma<sup>tie</sup> letter, which I thoght nesarie to be doune thatt your cayre fauore and grace myht apeir to posteritie in cayse of anie change or alteration in us, for itt is yusuall the letters beare registration to delay the douinning therof; so towards 10 att night we rayse, the most part thereof was spent in consulting with thos who uer best affected, for if your Ma<sup>ty</sup> knew all itt was no tyme to sleep. In the morning att 5 the Clerckregister and Advocatt came with ther bookes and preseden orders for the indytment of the generall assemblie and parlament, the Advocatt seimed unuilling to follou the latt presedentes of indiction of the assemblie, bot itt was not admitted of. Uhiles we uer talking of this a lytill efter six and before the uhole number of the counsall came, uoord was broght me thatt the Earles of Rothes and Muntroose was cume attended with diuers nobillmen and others, and desyred to speak with me. I called for so manie of the Consall as was in the house, and thereafter admitted Rothes and the rest of the Couenanters, Rothes in the name of the uhool supplicants tuck notice thatt they had hard that my self and the rest of the Consall intended that morning to subscryve the ould confession of fath and to publis a declaration of your Ma<sup>ties</sup>, which they did humble desyre I uould forbeire to dou till Monday the



1638, Sept. 24, and by thatt tyme they did not dout bot to giue sufficient rasounes uhy ue should not subscriyb itt, or hou to accomadat itt uith ther [conscience] thatt they might doe itt. Manie arguments they yused to persuad me to grant ther desyre. My ansuer uas I uould by the aduysse of the Lords of Consall returne them one, and uissshed them to stay. Frome thenis I uent streght to Consall, being fullie resoued not to alter from my resolutiounes, for I uas sertanlie informed that they desyres of delayes tended to no other end then to deuyd us of the Consall. I shall not presum to trubbell your Ma<sup>ty</sup> uith a relation of our debates amongst oursealfe and uith them, being fitter for a discourse then a letter, for itt held us att least 4 oures, bot in conclusion no delay uas granted, and they uent auay infinitlie discontented, and not uithout uenting in the uter rounes to sume (who uas ther attending) sume bige uordes. Efter ther parting ue uent on in our resolutiouns, and efter 3 houres longer debatt, ue concluded, not one man disagrieing by woyce, to singe the confession and band, yeitt to all the rest I feare ther hartes uent scairce a longst, for sume inclyned to admitt of delayes which I dare confidentlie affirme uould haue prodused diuision. Therefter ue sined one acte for publication of your Ma<sup>ty</sup> proclamation of grace and ane other for the indyting of the assemblie att Glascou the 21 of Nouember, ane other for the parll[iament] the 15 of Maye nixt att Edin[burgh] uith ane acte of Consall declaring our full satisfaction, and resoued on a letter to your Ma<sup>ty</sup>, and neire 4 a clock ue rose and apoynted to meitt a gain uith in one houre: this being doune we sent immediatelie to the Croce, and had them proclaimed, uher ther uas a protestation mead for no other end bot to keipe the people frome being satisfied and to hinder them to subscriyve the confession and band commanded by outhoratie; bot lett not this trubbill your Ma<sup>ty</sup> farder then the knoing you haue so manie disafectionat subjects, for I trust in God the heaight of ther furie is past, and if itt be not, I haue good hoopes they shall be delt uith heire, for ther protestation heathe much offended manie of the Consall who sines that tyme hath suoorne to me thatt nou they ar

secured in religion, they uill speak another language to them then 1638, Sept. 24. yett they haue hard.

Att the houre apoynted the uhole Counsell mett againe. Ue agreed on a letter and sined the same which I haue sente to my Lord Stirling, with the copies of all other actes that heath past, to be presented to your Ma<sup>ty</sup> and tho perhapes you uill not find them so full as could be uisshet, yet I hope your Ma<sup>ty</sup> uill reseauue sume satisfaction by them, and I dare say ue shall adheare to them and not dou as ue did last. Sume thing more I uould say if I uer not your Ma<sup>ties</sup> Commissioner, and the man imployed for the procuring them.

Till neir ten last night ue spent in deuyding of the kingdome and apoynting a Conseler for eueri part ther of for to sea the Confession subscryved (and to make the people sensabill of your Ma<sup>ties</sup> greatt and extraordinarie fauoores) uich the uoorst affected of the Couenanters say with out perjurie they cannot dou, tho I find no just rasoune giuen for thatt opinion, nor for ther refususall exsept itt be because itt is injoynd, and still to detayne the peoples hartes from your Ma<sup>ty</sup>, uich I trust in God shall not longer be in ther pouer. Nou my cheef and nix indeuoores must be preserue Episcoposie, uich is a taske of greater difficultie then can be imaged, for the most riged and uoorse affected persones thatt is in the kingdome is eather alredie choysen or commissioners or uill be, nor can the uitt of man find nou a remedie for thatt.

I haue presumed so much on your Ma<sup>ties</sup> patienes, bot becaues I haue hard thatt I ame lykly to be complayned of to you, I haue aduentured to sett this doune more particularlie then other uayes I uould, thatt your Ma<sup>ty</sup> might be cleirli informed of my prosidinges.

The report of the ordinance and amunionnes comming to Hull heath prouen prejudiciall to your seruiss att this tyme, bot nou I shall not desyre the sending of them ther ani longer retarded, bot rather uish the heastening of them thidder, and lykuyse thatt you uould be plesed to goe on with your preparatiounes, for feare of the uoarst, bot humblie I intreatt till the assembl: be past ye uill conseill your intentiones concerning Beruick, for the best tyme for thatt uill be

1638, Sept. 24. betuixt the assemblie and parll[iament] and if a rupture be lyklie to happen your Ma<sup>ty</sup> shall be tymouslie advertysed by  
 Your Ma<sup>ty</sup> most loyall subject  
 and humblest seruant  
 HAMILTON.

Uliroud hous the 24 Sept.<sup>a</sup>  
 att 8 a clock in the morning. 1638.

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14. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.

MOST SACRETT SOUERAN,

1638, Sept. 27. The Couenanters haue left nothing undoune thatt they could think of or mallis inuent to cause a deuisione amongst the Consall, and labored to the uttermost of ther pouer to procure the rescinding and the canceling whatt we had done. I must confes to our oune shame they uir to lyklie to haue praueled, for sume of our number being toe great fauorers of ther uays, did more then continance these deuisifes motions. I neid not name them to your Ma<sup>ty</sup>, or rather him, for one man att this tyme is more then suffitiant to doe a uoordill of mischif. The ground they uent on uas pretended contiens, persuading them that whatt was doune was unlafull, uith out ane explanation, and thatt by uay of act of Consall, in u[hich] the uould haue had as comprehending materes of dissipline and seramonies of the Church to be poyntes of fath, and so consequentlie, by our suering the Confession, haue obliged us to haue objured all discipline and seramonies as fundamentall poyntes of fath, and to haue beine estimed and damned as poyntes of poprie that wer not then in practice, the uich, if they had preualed in, then euen thoes things uich themselves estime as indifferent, and all dissiplin of the Church uich heath antientlie beine practised as indifferent, uould haue beine by us condemned as poprie: this uas long argued, upone Munday, the 24, att Consall, bott att last con-

<sup>a</sup> Answered Sept. 30. *Burnet*, 81.



cluded that disseplen and seramonie should not be mentioned by us 1638, Sept 27. in our actes, bot ue onlie to adheare to the mentioned confession which, according as itt uas professed, itt doueth not import the abjuring of thes things indifferent, as dissipline and seramonies, as heades of fath. tho they haue not preualed with us, yett doutes and scrupils they haue begott in the myndes of tou manie of thatt number, by the which itt is euident thatt they inclyne in ther hearts to much to the abolising of episcopasie, which I cannot say bot is att this present in to eminent and greatt a hasard for the most rigid and ciuill sett men ar generallie chosen members of this assemblie. Onlie this we haue for our confortes, that protestationes against the unlawfull uayes thatt haue beine keiped in the electuon of the members, and uhatt ealyes ue can think of, and the pour<sup>a</sup> of thatt court to abrogatt that which is estabelised by actes of parll[iament] may safe them, or att leist thatt holie, nesarie, and honerabill degrie of the Church may not be taken a uay bot by the parll[iament] in the which, praysed be God, your Ma<sup>ty</sup> heath a negatif voyce.

The same course that they kepted with us they nou take with the subjecte in generall, to diuert them frome subscribing the confession of fath, persuading all shuch as haue subscriybed ther Couenant, with a number of sofisticatt arguments to lyklie to preuall with the ignorant multitud, thatt they can not doe itt with out being guiltie of perjurie.

Ther subscription is not so materiall as itt is to be regarded, saife onlie for this rasoune, that feu will conseaue them selves secured in religion with out the douing ther of, and so consequentlie not rest satisfied with your Ma<sup>ties</sup> declaration, and the hindering of ther Couenant to be ratefied and aproued in the assemblie; bot uhatt the euent of this will proufe no man can tell, bot shure I ame thatt all loyal subjectes ought to acquies; and if all of us of the Counsell be as fathfull and industrious as the Justis Clarke, heath beine, manie uill reseawe satisfaction, for he heath so preualed in

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the want of power.

<sup>b</sup> Sir John Hamilton of Orbieston.



1638, Sept. 27. Glascou, the prinsipallsitie (in my opinion nixt Edingburg in this king-  
dom) [as that] with great joy, content, and satisfaction they reseued  
your Mat<sup>t</sup>i declaration; nor uould they admitt of anie protestation  
to be read against itt. Itt is treu his diligens preuented the Coue-  
nanters, and before they could tent [?] ther hartes against your  
Mat<sup>t</sup>ie proclamation, he had published the same, as your Mat<sup>t</sup>i will  
sea by the copies of tou letters urytt to me frome the prouist,  
baylles, and counsall, ministers, and professors of that toune. If the  
man uer not so neire to me as he is, I uould bouldlie affirme uithout  
blusshing thatt which he heath doune deserfes a testamonie of your  
Mat<sup>t</sup>is fauour. My onlie feire is in this particular that the fickle  
multitud (in all things eales bot that uich they oght not) may  
conseaue them scalfes circumuented, bot I shall doe my best to  
confirme them in ther loyallties by going thidder my self this ueike  
or the beginning of the nixt.

I can not expect anie other succes in alt Abeirdein, uher the  
Marquis of Huntlie your Mat<sup>t</sup>ies fathfull seruant uill signifie your  
plesour and publis your proclamation; itt being far noorth, ferreis  
to croose and the uindes prouing so contrarie thatt could not pas, so  
I dou not expect to haue a returne thes 8 or 10 dayes.

Tho I cannot say much is doune, yett dayre ue boldlier speake to  
the Couenanters then formerlie, and my hoopes of sume deuision  
doueth rather increas then deminish.

I haue presumed upone your Mat<sup>t</sup>ies goodnes, and aduentured  
upone ane act, uich I can not justifie otheruayes then by trusting  
thatt uhatt I haue doune, your Mat<sup>t</sup>i uill conceaue prosided out of  
ane intention to searue you, and tho the mater be bot small, yett  
the consequens of itt might haue prouen greatt, and caused a  
present rupture; the particular is this. I uas aduertised by the  
mare of Newcastell thatt he had reseued a letter from my Lo:  
Cliffourd, commanding him in your Mat<sup>t</sup>ies name to make stay of all  
shuch horses that should pase through that toune, to [be] trans-  
ported into Scotland; accordingle he mead stay of sume 23 or 24,  
uich gaife so greatt allarme heir as I had much a doe to appease  
itt. I aduentured to urytt to the mare requyring him in your

Mat<sup>ties</sup> name to permitt them to pas, bot of this I haue uryt more 1638, Sept. 27. particularlie to my Lo: of Cant[erbury] and uill trubill your Ma<sup>ttie</sup> no farther, bot onlie this; who soeuer gaue your Ma<sup>tti</sup> thatt aduyce, doueth not understand the estatt of affayres heire; nor neides your Ma<sup>ttie</sup> expect thatt anie can be abill to dou you seruiss in thes partes or ue remaine in securatie or saftie, eaiuen of our lyfes, if shuch courses be kept.

Sir James Hammilton delivered your Ma<sup>tties</sup> plesoure to his uncill,<sup>a</sup> tho he might haue beine mouued to cume up, I did not think fitt much to press itt, for presentlie itt was rumered thatt he uas sent for into making of ingyngs to be mad yuse of against them, uich if he did belieue they uer so to be imployed, he uould neuer upone thes tairmes cume. The treuth is, terrabill zealous he is, yett he heath oft said, thatt no inuention of his shall euer be med yuse of to your Ma<sup>ttis</sup> disadvantage and I hould itt fitting thatt he should not nou totallie be dishartened, for if a breach should cum, he might dou mischife, bot I haue euer found him honest, and I hoope he uill neuer proufe disloyall, tho I belife I shall not in heast trubill your Ma<sup>ttie</sup> (out of loufe to him) uith shutes.

God of his mersie grant you Ma<sup>tti</sup> ol hapines and good suceses in all your designes, uich shall be the daylie prayeres of

Your Ma<sup>tties</sup>

most faithfull loyall subject and humblest seruant

HAMILTON.<sup>b</sup>

Holirond hous 27 Septt. att 10 in the morning.

# 15. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.

MOST SACRET SOUERAN,

I haue had the happines to reseae your Ma<sup>ttis</sup> letter of the 22 1638, 5. Oct. of Septt. frome Hampton Court, for the uich I doe render your Ma<sup>tti</sup> all humbilla thanks; acknoledging itt to be one of my greatestt

<sup>a</sup> Colonel Alexander Hamilton.

<sup>b</sup> Answered Oct. 2. The date of the King's letter is wrongly given in *Burnet* (82) as Oct. 20.

1638, Oct. 5. hapineses thatt I haue beine so often incoraged and honored by letters urytt uith your sacrett hand.

Att my cumming heire I found this people both gentill men ministers and commoners totallie peruerted and to haue shaken of all deutie allegens and obedience to ther soueran, and no uoonder then, if respect to my self; they hauing beine more labored uith then the rest of the kingdome, because they had relation to me, and I your Ma<sup>tties</sup> commissioner.

Tho I can not say thatt I haue reclaimed them, yett manie ar satisfied in mater of contiens, and albid they ar not as yett cume so farr as to promise to gooe a longst uith me in your Ma<sup>tties</sup> seruiss, yett I hoope they uill not goe against you ther soueran. I haue preualed so fare uith the ministers of this presbitrie and that of Glasgoo as I haue mead a stope in ther election of thes men who uas recommended to them from the tabill, (as the call it) to be members for the assemblie; and both presbyteries haue promised, if they can, not to admett of laick elders to haue uoyce in ther election, or att leist to protest against the same. This if they make good, itt uill be of sum yuse in the assemblie.

Sume feu in this countrie heath sined the Confession of fath in-joynd by you Ma<sup>ttie</sup>, bot uith infinett difficultie, the Couenanters hauing labored to persuadd all, and preualed uith to manie thatt nothing is intended thatt is promised in your Ma<sup>tties</sup> name; thatt they ar guiltie of perjurie uho shall subscrib the said confession; nor uill they permitt them to sea or acknouledge your Ma<sup>tties</sup> goodnes, bot uill haue all remitted to the assemblie thatt ther they may be thoght the doueres of whatt is plesing to the people, and your Ma<sup>ty</sup> to haue no share ther of.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> On Oct. 3. the Earl of Haddington wrote to Hamilton from Selkirk that "Traquair was doing all in his power to obtain signatures in the neighbourhood, but there is littill or rather no hope that anybody in this country can be persuadit to subscribe the confession before the assembly."

A joint letter from Traquair and Haddington written from Selkirk on the same day states that they had appointed that day to make known the King's gracious pleasure to those of that shire, but had found "all both of the ministry and laity



1638, Oct. 5.

What suces the rest of the Conselors uill haue in ther seuerall circutes in the Countrie I can not yett tell, bot if itt be ansuerabill to this, the lyttill uich I haue had in this countrie, I am not totallie in dispare, bot some good may be doune in making of ane diuisioune.

Itt is nou to euident and apeires playnlie thatt ther hes beine sume uhat eales intenditt more then the preseruatioun of religion; for God knoett thatt heath onlie serued to blind the ulgar; for I cane assure your Ma<sup>ty</sup> thatt this Couenant of theres is intended so to linke this uicked people toghither as they meaine neuer to obey anie of your Ma<sup>ties</sup> commands nor of your sucseuours bot shuch as shall be plesing to them selves, and of uhat dangerous consequens this is, your Ma<sup>ty</sup> can best iudge. To find a remedie for this so great euill, I can sea none, exsept itt be by foorce; and thatt they conceaue and ar most confident of, thatt your Ma<sup>ty</sup> uill not be abill to effecte; for they ar mead belue thatt your subjectes in Ingland uill be fare frome giuing assistance to uorke this end that they uill rather joyne uith them; bot I trust in God if itt cume to the uorst they shall be save [?] deseued, and find them selves disapoynted euen of sume part of uhat they did expect att home, sines by all appeirens this unluckie busines can not end uith out a bloe to them. Your Ma<sup>ty</sup> uill doe ueill in my poure opinion still to be preparing your self, and aboufe all, in fournising Beruick and Carlell uith stronge and good guarisones. I ame still of the same mynd that formerlie I was concerning the tyme and maner of placing of them ther.

I doue nou by all meines posabill thatt I can think of labore to posses the myndes of thir peopill thatt all uill haue ane quyett end; and I conceaue thatt the lyke course uill not be disaduantagious to you Ma<sup>ties</sup> seruiss if itt be keiped in Ingland; and therfore all the

resolved in one body to assist the presbytery;” and had therefore thought it best to wait. The ministers were not unsatisfied with the thing itself, “but absolutely refused any present subscription, or to condescend to do it before the assembly.” The gentry answered that they were not acquainted with the King’s Covenant, but “that being satisfied in the reality of religion they will never contravert with the Sovereign.”



1638, Oct. 5. aduertismentes thatt I send thidder, exsept it be to your Ma<sup>tties</sup> self and my Lo: of Cant[erbury] doueth all tend to thatt effecte.

By uhatt I haue dedercted the Deane (uho heath prouen ane most actife and industrious seruant to your Ma<sup>tti</sup> in this busines) to urytt to my Lo: of Cantt[erbury] your Ma<sup>tti</sup> uill perseauue uhatt arguments ar intended to be broched in this assemblie. I uill not trubbill you Ma<sup>tti</sup> uith repeting of theme heire, they being better expressed by him, nor they can be by me.

My chife indeuoores tends nou onlie hou to prepare my self to make the nullities of this assemblie apeire; and if neid shall be, att the uerie first doune sitting ther of to desolve the same; tho itt is not to be expected that they uill obey, yett my leining of them can not bot make ther procedings ineffectuall, and giue your Ma<sup>tti</sup> the iuster grounds to take exseptionns att them; bot of this I shall urytt to your Ma<sup>tti</sup> more particularlie, uhen I my self ame better informed and haue more throughlie aduysed itt, which I ame confident to find good and suffitiant grounds for: and thatt by protesting in you Ma<sup>ttie</sup> name a gainst the procidings in the said assemblie, preserfe outhoratie from being quytt ouerthron, and make apeire to all honest and indifferent men thatt your Ma<sup>tti</sup> is uilling to secure religion tho uill not permitt souerantie to be trampled on.

They haue mead ane extraordinarie sture about a shipe that uas sheished by one of your Ma<sup>tties</sup> pinasses for amunition, upone the uich they urytt me ane letter the copie uher of and my ansuer I haue sent my Lord of Cantt[erbury] to be shouen your Ma<sup>ttie</sup>, they uer glad of the occasion and to increas the peoples feaires gaine present derECTION to doble the accustomatt guards thatt uached att the Castell of Ed[i]n[burgh] tho both myself and Counsell uer out of toune, and they kneu ueill aneughe ther uas not the leist intention att this tyme to put anie amunition in itt: so I shall beseeche your Ma<sup>tti</sup>, unles ue can be shure to pay them home indeid, to giue as lytill cause as may be, for shuch ther idle exseptionnes, so not trubling you Ma<sup>tti</sup> further uith reiding of thatt uich must be so

unpleasing, itt being the greatest greif that can in the world befall me thatt I can say no more bot thatt I conceaue my self unfortunatt in not being presentlie abill to effectuatt you Ma<sup>tties</sup> just desinges; yett I trust in God, I shall be so hapie as your Ma<sup>tti</sup> shall neuer haue cause to imputed to the falt of him uho uill liue and dye

You Ma<sup>tti</sup> most fathfull obedient louyall subjecte  
and humblest seruant

HAMILTON.<sup>a</sup>

Hamilton the 5 of Octb. 1638.

# 16. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.

MOST SACRETT SOUERAN,

1638, Oct. 14.

Ther heath not since my last anie thing of greatt importance occurred heire, yett itt uer a cryme unansuerabill in me to omitt the letting your Ma<sup>tti</sup> knoe thatt I haue had the hapines to reseae tue of your Ma<sup>tties</sup> letters urytt uith your oune sacrett hand: the first of which, being of the 30 of Sep<sup>tt</sup>,<sup>b</sup> beires that your Ma<sup>tt</sup> approues uhatt I haue doune, and giues me that incoragment to gooe on, that if I could doe you reall seruise, thoe I uer certen to louse my lyfe ther by, yett should I joye in hauing beine yusfull to your Ma<sup>tti</sup>, and dye with confort.

The other is of the 2 of October,<sup>c</sup> wher in your Ma<sup>tties</sup> obseruations is most treu, for the malignitie of the Couenanters doeth still grou; and if the Counsall should nou, efter ther solem oathe taken, actes past, and our letter uryten shoing our full satisfaction and acquiescing with your Ma<sup>tties</sup> gracious declaration, and in which ue offer our lyfes and fortouns to supres thoes uho shall heire efter preis to disturbe the peace of this Church and kingdome, in secouring your Ma<sup>tties</sup> command—if (I say) ue be not nou sensibill of the Couenanters' damnable proceedings, which all men may cleirly sea

<sup>a</sup> Answered Oct. 9. *Burnet*, 84.

<sup>b</sup> *Burnet*, 81.

<sup>c</sup> Misdated in *Burnet*, 82.

1638, Oct. 14. tends to nothing eales bot sedition, and therfor, if they doe nou shrink frome seruing your Ma<sup>ty</sup> as they haue professed, hou can they be estimed others then perjured traytors, and uhatt hoope is ther then your seruiss can goe a right, uhen your Counselers are shuch; and to greatt rasoune haue I to feare thatt all ther harts are not as they ought to be: (your Ma<sup>ty</sup> knoeth uho they ar), for itt is euident by ther remisnes in pressing subscriptione of the confession uarranted by outhoratie; yett sume feu of us in this particulare haue doune our indeuours, and that uith rasonable succes.

The least protestation made to you Ma<sup>ty</sup> gracious declaration is no other then a seditious lybell, and inuented for no other end bot to moufe the peope to commit trasonable actes. Woold to God I could find the meanes to haue the adheres to that protestation declared traytors, bot alase, Sir, there is no hoope of that att this tyme, for in generall the uhole Couenanters adheares to itt, except onlie shuch as haue subscrybed this last confession, your Ma<sup>ties</sup> Couenant, uhocs number is not considerabil, the manie they ar uho restes satisfied in consciense, and can giue no rasoune for ther refususall bot because they are prohibited by the Couenanters' tabell (as they call it).

I could not posabillie conuein the senatures of the Colleges of Justes before my cumming out of Edin[burgh] most of them being out of toun, bot I haue caused aduertes them all to be ther against the letter end of this mounth, and haue reseued assurance from manie of them thatt most willinglie they uill obay your Ma<sup>ty</sup> command and singe your Couenant, uich your Ma<sup>ty</sup> neides not dout bot they uill performe, and certenlie itt may proufe of sume yuse to your Ma<sup>ties</sup> seruiss.

Itt is treu, Sir, thatt the danger which I doe conseaue Episcopasie to be in is greatt, for I can assure your Ma<sup>ty</sup> ther is nothing les intended att this assemblie then to haue itt declared anti-Christian, and totallie to abrogatt the same; but I knoe ueill it is chiflie monarchie uich is intended by them to be destroyed, and I can not say bot thatt it heath reseued so greatt a bloue as itt can neuer be



sett right till the prinsipall actors haue reseued ther just punish- 1638, Oct. 14.  
ment, which can not be greatt a nufe for ther faltes; bot this is not  
nou to be doune uihout a pourfull force, which can not be rased  
heire untill shuch tyme as the people's hartes be unpossessed of ther  
conseued feaires of innouatiounes in religion, which if ue could be so  
hapie as to dou in this assemblie (being ue sea thatt neather pro-  
clamation nor declaration, hou ampill so euer, can effect itt) uith-  
out the limitation of Royall outhoratti and the totall abbolition of  
Biss[hops] I uoold then conceaue the uoorke easie.

Hauing nou in sume mesour setteled manie of the people's mynds  
in this shyre, in the which I must acknoledge Delieell to haue beine  
ane good instrument, uhoes cariage haeth beine shuch as I ame not  
nou asshemed to haue recommended him to your Ma<sup>ty</sup>.

I ame presentlie to returne to Ed[i]n[burgh] and ther seriouslie to  
consult uith my Lords of the Clargie, and shuch others as I dare trust,  
hou ue shall proceid in the assemblie, and make the nullaties of the  
same appeire, and lykuys seriouslie to uaigne the propositionns that  
is to be mead ther in your Ma<sup>ties</sup> name, which, being ones deyausted, I  
shall send them up to your Ma<sup>ty</sup> uith all expedition; and if ther be  
a posabilitie to gett ther fridoume defyned before ther meting; bot  
I can not sea yett hou that can be doune.

Your Ma<sup>ties</sup> stoping of your prouisiounse att Hull, I hoop shall  
no uayes proufe disaduantagious to your seruis; but I humblie craue  
leaue of your Ma<sup>ty</sup> thus fare to explane my meaning, thatt I neuer  
uissshed itt should be longer then the doune sitting of the assemblie;  
and I conceaue nou, if your Ma<sup>ty</sup> had anie resolution of sending  
sume part of that prouision to Neucastell and armes to thos of  
Northumberland, who I heire ar totallie unprouided of them, that  
the tyme nou is not unproper for that, because I haue so prepared  
this ignorant, malicious people, as I ame confident nou no present  
rupture uill ensheu thereon; but aboufe all lett me humblie beg thatt  
Beruick and Cayrlyle be thoght on to be furnished uith good and  
strong garnisounes (and thatt with as greatt secresaie as may be),  
against the tyme of the assemblies, ending which, your Ma<sup>ty</sup> may be



1638, Oct. 14. plesed to remember, settes doune upon the 21 of Nouemb: for thes partes uill proufe so considerabill to you, particularlie Beruick, as ther uill be no hoope of douing anithing by force heire with out thoes plases be secured to you. I doe beshech your Ma<sup>ttie</sup> thatt, as you proceid in this, you may be plesed to caues aduertis me thatt, in cayse I find itt so euill taken by thir made<sup>a</sup> that a present rupture is lyklie to ensheu theron, we who ar your Ma<sup>tties</sup> fathfull seruants may secure our selves from ther insolence, which I aprehend not so much out of feaire for my oune persone as I doue of being debared frome the meaines of shoing myself

Your Ma<sup>ttis</sup>

Most fathfull, obediantt loyall subjecte  
and humblest seruant,

Hammilton, the 14 of Octb.,  
att 10 in the morning.

HAMILTON.

# 17. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.

1638, Oct. 15. MOST SACRETT SOUERAN,

Efter I had closed this packett, I had the honoure to reseaeue your Ma<sup>tties</sup> of the 9 of Octber,<sup>b</sup> upone which I resolued to make stay therof, and uith the same returne ansuer to your Ma<sup>tties</sup> last.

First, giue me leaue humblie to acknowledge your goodnes thatt you haue beine plesed to uryt so speidie, and thatt you ar so gracious as to suspend your opinioune till you have the rasounes of my proceidings.

It is treu I wrytt in my last that I found the people of this part totallie peruerted, as hauing beine more labored uith then the rest of the kingdome, becaues they had relation to me; yett I sheu thatt manie uer satisfied in maters of conscience, and I thoght they uould not goe against your Ma<sup>ttie</sup>; nou I can say sumuhatt more for manie of the prinsepall gentill in thes partes—nay, uhooll parishes

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps "mad men" or "people" being omitted.      <sup>b</sup> *Burnet*, 84.

and this poure toun heaue signed the Confession and bond uar- 1638, Oct. 15.  
ranted by authoratie, and refyusis anie more to follow the Coue-  
nanters' derection.

I beshich your Ma<sup>ty</sup> pardon, if I dou not attribute the oposition I have mett in this particular countrie to my not aposing rigurouslie anufe the damnable protestation, for in Edingburg I publickly declared that he was neather a good subject nor had a loyall hart to his prince that did adheare ther to, and labored to the uttermost of my pouer to haue had the whole Cōsull thoght the same, and to haue publickly declared itt by way of act; but I was not abill to effectk this, tho indeuored by me with all the industrie and art thatt posabillie I could, knoing shuch ane act uould haue prouen yusfull for your Ma<sup>ty</sup> seruise; nor could I doue more, I neather hauing force nor pouer to hinder the Couenanters frome proceeding in ther protestatiounes, yett non was med in this shyre exsept in on toun; so, in my opinioun, the protestation is no cause thatt I found so much aposition within this shyre, but housoeuer the people heire uer affected; I uould to God the rest of the kingdome uer nou of ther mynd.

Your Ma<sup>ty</sup> commands me to lett you knoe the rasounes why I mingled the protesters with your good seruantes as Commissioners in most of the shyres, for procuring subscription to the band. The rasounes uer this:

First. Ue conseed itt might be a meaines to giue manie pryme men and themselves a faire ocasion to returne to ther deutie toward your Ma<sup>ty</sup>.

Secondly. That they, being intrusted by the Consall for procuring of subscription, uould yett be the more inexcusable if they further aposed the same.

Itt was lykuys thoght a meaines to bring them in suspition with ther alherents that they had deserted ther partie, and with sume itt uought thatt end.

The intrusting of them was lykuys thoght a meaines to banishe the pretended feaires thatt all uould not be performed which was

1638, Oct. 15. promised them, being the greatest aposers uer requyred to be actors in itt them self, and to sea thatt performed which they doutd uas neuer reallie intended; and lykuys to lett the people sea your Ma<sup>ty</sup>, hauing offered a pardon to all thatt uould acquies, that nou you med no differens of persones till a neu relapess, nor could ue euer think thatt manie uho uer named Commissioners uould not with alacretie haue acquiesed; bot, aboufe all, my chife end uas to satisfie the uoulgar people, for whidder thes Commissioners did reallie pres subscription to the band or no (uich I kneu they uould not dou), itt uas all one so the uolgar acquiesed; and ue conseued that they, seaing the names of the pryne Couenanters in the Commission, itt uas the rediest meaines to effect the same. Yett the prinsipall charge ther of uas left to the counselors in euerie shyre, and they requyred to proced in gaiting of subscription and publishing the proclamation uithout the assistans of anie Couenanters if they did not find them as ueill sett as themsealfes, uich accordingle in manie places they haue doune, and from the conselers alone the chiefe account of ther procidings is expected; uherfor ue conseued the nominating of them might haue doune good, and thatt no prejudis could aryse therby; and I doue assure your Ma<sup>ty</sup> itt uas then and still is displesing to manie illaffected Couenanters, and the protestares themselves, and ar fare from acknoledgin itt to be anie fauore to them.

Thes uer the rasounes uich mouued me to condesend to the Counsaes most earnest desyre of hauing Couenanters joyned in Commission with them for procuring subscription to the band, the repelling of uhoes motioenes uich had sho of rasoune I durt not venture then to dou, for feaire of ther falling of, uich manie of them uer uerie apt to doe upone the leist occasion; if in douing of this I haue erred, I doe most humblie craue your Ma<sup>ty</sup> pardon. I could alledge for my excyuse the yunanimous desyre of the Counsall, bot I will neuer pled anie pretext for my self more then the integratie of my hart to your seruise, and shall euer submitt my self to your gracious sensore, without goeing about in the leist uay to justifie



my actionnes, for such is the nature of my employment thatt they 1638, Oct. 15.  
are no otheruayes to be justified then by your Ma<sup>ties</sup> aprobaton of them.

Your Ma<sup>ty</sup> may be pleased to remember thatt I haue oft tould you I had lytill hoope of uorking of thatt by treatie which uould be exseptabill to you, and thatt my advyce uas you should gooe another uay to uork uith them; bot sines your Ma<sup>ty</sup> heath injoynd me to deall uith them by treatie, the most probabill wayes I take that I can think on to effectuatt your commands, which I conseaue cheiffie tends att this tyme so to make a partie heire for your Ma<sup>ty</sup>, and onse so to quyet ther madd people, thatt heire after your Ma<sup>ty</sup> may reygne as king, and inflictk the deu punisment on shuch as haue so infinitlie offended against your Ma<sup>ties</sup> sacrett outhoratie.

Sir, giue me leaue to reconseill the latter part of my letter to uhatt was contened in the middill therof.

Thus my meininge uas: since, in my opinion, this busines could not end with out a bloue to them, I first aduysed that your Ma<sup>ty</sup> should prouyd for itt by furnising of Berruick and Cayrlyll uith good and strong garnisones. In the latter end therof my opinione uas they should not be unnesisarlie irritatt by small ocasiunnes, as uas the sherching of thatt shipe and stoping of a feu horsis, which could nather ueaken them nor yett benefit your Ma<sup>ty</sup>, bot onlie giue neu ocasion to ther feaires that greater maters uer prouyding for them, and so consequentlie they not onlie mistrust uhatt I had promysed, but garde them selves the better against your Ma<sup>ties</sup> just indignation, and yett I was not eiuen in that part of my letter against the paying of them home, if itt could have beine doune indeid, my meding<sup>a</sup> being thatt I uisshed them to be in redines, yett they should not be sent to thos places till the end of the assemblie, according to my former aduyse; and if this be not so cleire as ar my intentionnes, I humblie submitt itt to your Ma<sup>ties</sup> fauorabill construction.

Your Ma<sup>ty</sup> uill find in this other letter of myne thatt I dou think the tyme not nou unpropre for sending of amunition to Neucastell

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps this should be "meaning."



1638, Oct. 15. and Northhumerland, which uill sho suffitiantlie if they be not content uith rasone your Ma<sup>tti</sup> uill make them; and nou, considering their cariage, your Ma<sup>tties</sup> preparations is more and more to be auoued; and nesisarie itt is your partie be letten sea thatt your Ma<sup>tti</sup> doueth intend to mentane your oune authoratie and them.

Nou, Sir, hauing to much presumed on your goodnes and patience, giue me leaue to conclud uith this, thatt I trust in God your Ma<sup>tti</sup> shall ouer come all his difficulties, which uill be the greatestt hapines which in this uoordill can befall me, and accordind to my bound duetie to effecte which shall be the chifftest cayre of

Your Ma<sup>tties</sup>

Most fathfull, obedient, loyall subjecte  
and humblest seruant,

HAMILTON.

Hamilton, the 15 of October, 1638.

# 18. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.

1638, Oct. 22. MOST SACRETT SOUERAN,

At my cumming to Edinburg I expected to haue found my Lord Santtandrus and my Lo: Rose, bot heire uas onlie the Bishope of Brichen, who tould me that my Lord Santt[andrews] had sent him to lett me knoue that he conceaued his cumming was totallie unnesisarie, and that he had sent the Biss[hop] of Rose to knoe your Ma<sup>tties</sup> plesoure in scme particulers, bot uhat they ar I knoe not. This heath sumuhat disorderett me, and is the cause uhy I haue not sent this despach so soune as I intended; for your Ma<sup>tties</sup> aduocatt being no uayes to be trusted, and I totally destitud of learned consell att laue, ame put my self to search the uaye of proceeding in the assemblie; and in itt, thoe no good can be expected, yett sure I ame to make itt shuch a one as nothing shall be found legallie doune that your Ma<sup>tti</sup> doueth not approue of.

Uith my Lords of the Clergie thatt ar heire, and shuch others as 1638, Oct. 22.  
I dare trust, I haue beine consulting concerning the nullaties which  
may be alleged a gainst this assemblie, and so manie as hidderto ue  
haue thoght on I haue sent vp to my Lo: of Cantt[erbury] to be  
shouen your Ma<sup>ty</sup>, and confidentlie I may affirme they ar shuch that  
anie indifferent man may cleerlie sea that this can be no lafull  
assemblie if thes objectiones be mead against itt.

I haue lykuys sent my Lo: of Cant: these particuler propositions  
uich your Ma<sup>ty</sup> is to condescend to in the assemblie. I can not  
say they ar so formallie done as is required, and perhapes your Ma<sup>ty</sup>  
uill find them more full then should be expressed to you, yett they  
ar shuch as ar almost conforme to your Ma<sup>ties</sup> proclamation, declara-  
tion, and my instructiouns; but your Ma<sup>ty</sup> may be plesed to alter or  
change as you shall think fitt, and, efter they ar signed be your  
Ma<sup>ty</sup>, cause them be returned to me.

I haue lykuys sent my Lo: of Cant[erbury] the uay and maner  
that I intend to proceed in this assemblie; and this I did in con-  
sideration of the lenth of the paperes, thatt whatt your Ma<sup>ty</sup> thoght  
fitt to be changed in them, itt might be doune by him uith more  
ease to your Ma<sup>ties</sup>.

Nou, Sir, I humblie craue leaue to acquent your Ma<sup>ty</sup> uith the  
opiniounes of my Lords of the Clergie that ar heire, uich is in one  
uord thatt itt is fitter for your Ma<sup>ty</sup> to prorogue this assemblie then  
to keep itt. Of this they haue wryten particularlie to my Lo: of Cant-  
[erbury] and giuen ther rasounes ther, for itt is not fitting for me  
to truble your Ma<sup>ty</sup> uith repeting of them. I should not differ from  
ther opinion (for certainlie no good can be loucked for ther), safe  
onlie for this one rasoune, uich is, that then the Couenanters uould  
persuad all the people (and they to apte to belife itt) that your  
Ma<sup>ty</sup> neuer intended thatt itt should be kept, nor that euer anie of  
thes things should be really performed, uich uas offered in your  
proclamationes and declaratiouns, uich heath lykuys beine ther  
mane argument and motiue (next thatt of ther being perjured),  
wher by they have kept bake the people frome subscriybing the con-

1638, Oct. 22. fession and bond uarranted by authoritie, and hinddered them from acquiessing uith uhat your Ma<sup>tie</sup> heath declared: and this prorogation of the assemblie uould not misse to confirme the same in the people's mynds, and I feaire be the meanes of loasing that small partie which nou ue haue gained; for euen your oune consell uould not haue assented to that which they haue down bot upone promis of performens in a generall assemblie of all thoes things granted by your Ma<sup>ty</sup> in your last gracious proclamation.

Upone the other syde the assemblie meiting, and ue proceeding as I haue expressed and sett doune to my Lord of Cantt[erbury], itt uill then apeire to the uordill that your Ma<sup>ty</sup> is uilling to performe uhatt so euer you haue gratuslie promised, tho you uill not alou of shuch ane assemblie as (by ther disorders) this is lyklye to proufe. Itt is treu this uay uill be more dangerous for the dissoluers of itt; bot, if your Ma<sup>ty</sup> shall be plesed to take this cours, I shall not feaire to doe itt thoe the Counsall refyuse to cuncure uith me in it (as I am sheure manie of them uill), and command them to desist, in your Ma<sup>ties</sup> name, under the payne of treson, frome proceeding further ther in, and so leife them, if they uill not obey, tanted by your Ma<sup>ties</sup> Commissioner uith the name of traytures. Obediance is not to be expected frome them, for I doe beliuie they uill not desist from proceeding att my command.

And I ame most certenlie persuaditt that if your Ma<sup>ty</sup> doe presentlie proroge the said assemblie, they uill no the les goe on uith the same att the day, tho not att the place apoynted (for they uill keip itt att Edingburg); and to uerifie ther intention hear in, upone a report att my last cumming to Eding[burgh] that I did intend to prorogue the same, a great manie of them came to toune to haue protested against the prorogation, and to haue declared they uould gooe on and keipe the same.

This I humble remitt to your Ma<sup>ty</sup> consideration, intreating that you uill be plesed to consider of the uayes I haue sett down to my Lo: Cantt[erbury] anent my proceeding in the assemblie, uhat I can not think bot if itt be followed, your Ma<sup>ty</sup> shall haue a considerabill



partie heire to courbe the stubernes of thir rebellious people; bot 1638, Oct. 22. shuch is ther uicked disposition as no humain judgment can foretell uhat the euent uill be; uherfor I dare not aduenture to giue your Ma<sup>tti</sup> anie further aduyce, bot expects your Ma<sup>tties</sup> resolution and commands, which shall be punctualie obeyed.

I doe conceaue that they uill hardlie admitt of anie assesers in this assemblie for your Ma<sup>tti</sup>, yett ue must not louse that preueledge, and therfore, if your Ma<sup>tti</sup> aproufe of thir men, I think they uill be the fittest: My Lo: Tresurare, Preuie Sealle, Laderdale, Southaske, Lorne (frome uhome no good is to be expected), ould Durie (if he can be right mead), Inuerpeffre, uho is your Ma<sup>tti</sup> fathfull seruati. More I uould not name leist they may take just exseptionns att them, they neuer being yusuallie aboufe tou or thrie, till your Ma<sup>tti</sup> father's going in to England.

I shall intreatt your Ma<sup>tti</sup> to be plesed to send one dusson of blanks more. In them I shall fill up the letters to the assessors, for I knoe not nou in uhat forme they uer acustomatt to be urytt.

This beirer, Sir James Lokart, deserfes your Ma<sup>tties</sup> countenance, for he heath behaued himself lyke your fathfull seruati.

Ther is small hoopes thatt Robing Leslie can effect uhatt he heath fansied to himself, or thatt I can doe more heire then to aproue my self unfortunatt and

Your Ma<sup>tti</sup>

Most fathfull, loyall, obedient subject and  
humbellest seuant,

HAMILTON.

Dalketh, the 22 of Octb., att night.

# 19. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.

MOST SACRED SOUERAN,

1638, Nov. 2.

The honoure your Ma<sup>ttie</sup> doeth me by your so gracious and frequent letters cannot be by me sufficientlie expressed nor acknowledged; therfor I uill not ayme att any shuch thing by uords, onlie

CAMD. SOC.

H



1638, Nov. 2. craues leaue to say this, that your Ma<sup>ty</sup> and the world shall sie houlytill I consider or regard freinds, kindreed, or my natieue cuntrye, in respect of your seruice and the fathfull dischargeing of that trust whiche your Ma<sup>ty</sup> hath beine plesed to repose in me, the humblest of your seruants.

I ame hartilie glad thatt my Lo[rd] of Rosse judgement (of whome I shall be as cayrfull as of myself) goes a langst<sup>h</sup> with his obedience to thoes grounds your Ma<sup>ty</sup> formerlie uent on. He is certenlie ane abill man, and uould to God he uer cume, that ue might consult on and debate the particulares, for heire is bot feu whoes hartes is right to your Ma<sup>ties</sup> seruice or whoe joynes with me in this uorke, eather in aduyse or reall assistance as they oght; for I dare assure your Ma<sup>ty</sup> that ther [are] manie of our counselors who douest euen abhorre the name of Bishops, and doueth not onlie uishee them to be limited, bot I feare uill joyne with the Couenanters totallie to abolishe them, hauing of late gote a neu tenent, whiche is, that what the generall assemb[ly] concludes on in maters of religion, they ar obliged not onlie to belaeue bot to seconde with ther best indeuores, houlding the infallabilitie of thatt assemb[ly] as much as euer Roman Catholick did the Conclave of Rome, and gladlie uould they persuaide themselves that they ar<sup>a</sup> much ingaged as the Couenanters ar.

A bad and most uicked instrument is your Aduocat in this, who heath cleirly declared himself against that gouernement, and heath planlye tould me that he neather can nor uill argoue nor defend for ther continuence in Counsell or Assemb[ly]. His place being ratified in Parliament, he sayes, cannot be taken from him for this, itt being no fault. Upon conference with the Clerke Register on this poynt, I find that before the ratification in Parl[iament] of his place, that your Ma<sup>ty</sup> requyred of him a band uherin he did oblige him self, not withstanding of that ratification, euer to lay doune his office when you requyred. If your Ma<sup>ty</sup> doe remember of this, or uho heath the custodie of this band, I beshich your Ma<sup>ty</sup> lett me knoe itt, for I doe aueire to your Ma<sup>ty</sup> that so longe as he injoyeth that office or sits att the Counsell tabill, no thing uill goe a right in

<sup>a</sup> "as my" in MS.

your seruice concerning the Church; nay, so pernicious is he, that 1638, Nov. 2.  
 I doe confes to your Ma<sup>ty</sup> that I take him to be a uorse instrument  
 then anie Couenanter, and so great pouer heath he in your Counsell  
 (most of that number being suffitiantlie ignorant), as his uords ar  
 esteemed as spoke by ane oracle, and mor trust giuen to them then to  
 uhat is commanded by your Ma<sup>ty</sup>, said by your Commissioner, or  
 anie other of your fathfull seruants. I ame therfor resolved to pro-  
 hibite his being att the Assemblie; bot heir is our misfortounes, that  
 ther is not anie laueire heire that is abill, or uill, or dayre undertak  
 his charge ther. Sir Luys Steuart is the fittest, bot hou fare he uill  
 goe alongst uith me I can not tell, he hauing alredie declared unto  
 me that thatt day wher on he ones compeires for Episcopacie, he  
 neuer expectes frome that tyme fourth further practice in this king-  
 dome; bot, by uay of priuat information, he hes promised his best  
 assistance. Ther is on Gilmure heir who heath said the lyke. Sir  
 Thomas Nicolsoune, of all the laueires in this countrie, in my opinion  
 is the ablest man to doe your Ma<sup>ty</sup> seruice; bot euen he, uho neuer  
 till nou had anie religioun, pretends scruples in contience, nor can  
 I uith him in anie uay preuaile. This caueses infinit trubbell to me,  
 and I can not be ansuerabille, bot your Ma<sup>ties</sup> seruis doueth reseawe  
 great prejudise therby; but I shall, by all meanes that I can, think  
 on [and] stryue to supplie this great want.

The letter of thanks which your Ma<sup>ty</sup> wret to the Counsell I pre-  
 sumed to alter, the copie of which I haue sent to my Lo: of Cantt-  
 [erbury]. The reasons uhy I did itt uer cheeflie to ingadge the  
 Counsell more and more to defend royall authoratie and monarchicall  
 gouvernement alredie estabelyshed, under which I doe conceaue  
 episcopacie to be comprehended. Ther letter, itt may be, your  
 Ma<sup>ty</sup> uill not think so much of, and I confes is not so much as in  
 deutie and alegence they owe; yett, considering the tyme, itt uas all  
 thatt I could make them expres, and itt uill searue for this use, that  
 uhen the Assemblie shall be discharged frome further proceedinge  
 under the payne of trayson, they uill be obliged, or I ame shure itt  
 ought to oblige them to concure uith me in desoluing the same,

1638, Nov. 2. which, tho they doe itt, is not to be expected the Assemb[ly] will obay eather them or me; bot I conceaue they hauing said this much, they can not then for shame bot joyne ther forces uith the pouer of royall authoratie to curbe ther insolensies, uich neather uill nor can euer be got doune bot by force.

Yesterday uas the first of the Sessions meetting, uher I uent and deliuered them a letter of your Ma<sup>ties</sup>, uich I filled in one of the blankes; and not uithstanding I had labored eache one of them a parte thes four dayes preceding, and of neu had assurance frome most of them to obay uhatt your Ma<sup>ty</sup> requyred in subscrybing the confession, yett so bitterly had the preachorus inuehed against the subscrybers of your Ma<sup>ties</sup> Couenant, and the people of this toun so threatned and terrified thes Lords, that most of all that number craued a delay; but experience hauing taught me uhat uould then haue beine the euent ther of, I resolued not to condesend therto, bot efter 3 hours disputing, and publicklye remembering sume of them uhat themselves had said to me, I pressed and requyred in your Ma<sup>ties</sup> name thes that uould presentlye subscrybe so to doe, and soe accordinglye 9 of them did. 4 craued tyme to aduyse, whoes names ar Durie,<sup>a</sup> Innerteill,<sup>b</sup> Sir Johne Scot,<sup>c</sup> and Hope the Aduocate's soune.<sup>d</sup> Balcomie<sup>e</sup> and Balmano<sup>f</sup> uer both absent, being seicke. Frome Balcomie I had formerlye full assurance that he uould doe itt; the other is so ould and siklye as I think he uill neuer sitt in that house. Tho the uhole number haue not signed the same, yett I can assure your Ma<sup>ty</sup>, considering hou detestabill this Couenant is to manie uicked men in this countrie, I uas contented uith the procuring of so manie hands; and so much heath itt irritatted the people of this toun as thos uho uas most forduart in the douing ther of, uas not onlie raylled and exclaymed against in their home going, bot euen uith sume danger of hauing uiolence offered to them. This farr itt heath uroght your Ma<sup>ties</sup> end, that uhen so euer

<sup>a</sup> Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie.

<sup>c</sup> Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet.

<sup>e</sup> Sir James Learmonth of Balcomie.

<sup>b</sup> Sir George Erskine of Innertiel.

<sup>d</sup> Sir John Hope of Craighall.

<sup>f</sup> Sir George Auchinlech of Balmanno.



anie thinge concerning this busines cumes to be argued in that hous, 1638, Nov. 2.  
 ue ar shur to carie itt, and thes that heath obayed doueth conceaue  
 theme selues obliged to stand to your Ma<sup>ties</sup> part.

Nou, Sir, giue me leaue to tell you that, for thes uho haue refused,  
 tou of [them] Durie and Scot, I ame sure in them itt proceeds not out  
 of conseince, bot meirlie, knouing ther oune guiltines in corruptiouns,  
 durst not for feare irritat the Couenanters, leist they had accused  
 them of that uich they could certenlie haue prouen, uich they  
 apprehendid more then the disobaying of your Ma<sup>tie</sup>. As for the  
 other tou, the one is ane ould doting foall; the other, uich is Hoope,  
 a bigot puritanicall fellow. This heath giuen your Ma<sup>ty</sup> just occa-  
 sioun, uhen the tyme is propper, for remouuing of them frome that  
 iudicatorie, uherein, if honest men be placed, and the laues put in  
 execution, and your Ma<sup>ties</sup> affaires ueill folloued heire, ther is lytill  
 dout to be mead (if this furie uer past) bot uithin few yeares manie  
 of the Couenanters uill be found to be fare in your reuerance.

I haue not as yett reseued ane account of the Counselers' dili-  
 gence (the 13 of this mounth being appoynted for itt) in procuring  
 of subscriptiones, bot in diuers shyres sume of them haue had rason-  
 able good suces, particular my Lo. Southaske in Angus, my Lo.  
 Kinoull in Pearth, bot aboufe all the Marquis of Huntlie in the  
 shyres of Aberden and Banfe; in Cluldall<sup>a</sup> ue ar reasonable ueill  
 toe. The rest of the countrie heath not had so good suces, bot yett  
 I hoope, against the doune sitting of the Assemblie, they uill haue  
 better, and your Ma<sup>ty</sup> gane so considerabill a payrtie as I hoope the  
 Couenanterres uill not so easellie ouerrune us, and I hoope by that  
 tyme your Ma<sup>ty</sup> uill haue secured your tounes of Beruick and  
 Cayrlyll.

I haue hard this day that ther is a letter came frome Loundon to  
 a marchand in this toun, that mentiouns that ther ar 3 of your Ma<sup>ty</sup>  
 shipes lying before the Brill, loding armes and amunition; thatt Sir  
 Jacobe Ashly is cumming ouer uith tou regiments of futt; that  
 Beruick and Cayrlyll is presentlie to be fortified. This heath giuen

<sup>a</sup> Clydesdale.



1638. Nov. 2. them ane hoot allarme, and, as I heare, they intend to charge me that whiles materes ar in treatie, this ought not to be doune; bot my ansuer is redie, which shall tend to this effectk: that itt is nather fitt for them to inquiryre after your Ma<sup>tti</sup> preparationes, nor to take exsesepcioness ther at, and this I shall inlarge by representing uhatt ther cariage heath beine, and uhatt they justlie mereitt.

I haue thir dayes past beine laborind with the Earle of Mare, who is a most ignorant ill sett man, to gette the Castell of Edin[burgh] out of his hands. I haue broght him so fare as to condesend upone a soume, which I confes is exorbitent, and therefore I uould not conclud uith out your Ma<sup>tties</sup> command. The money is not to be regarded; bot I aprehend, if itt should giue so much as he askett, which is 5000 pound, the people uould apprehend heire thatt your Ma<sup>tti</sup> uould neuer giue that unles itt uer to distroy this toune by that meines, and so they sease upone the place att his quyting of itt to anie other uho should be put in itt. If your Ma<sup>ttie</sup> think fitt that I goe on uith this, I shall bring him to as loue a pryse as I can, and doutes not to bayt a great part of that sume, and perhapes be abill so to cayrie the busines as they uill not be so easellie masteres of that Castill as they imagin. Tou thousand pound I haue offered him, and 3000 I suppose he uill take. Generall Ruthuen is the man uhom I uould aduyse your Ma<sup>tti</sup> to committ thatt charge to, for uhoes fidelatie I dare ingadge my self as far as I uill for anie man.

If your Ma<sup>tti</sup> resolfe that I goe on uith my Lord of Mare (as in my opinion is fitt, nay nesisisarie), itt onlie restheth hou he shall be payed, for in your exchequer heire ther is none, and lend no man uill, tho the securatie be neuer so good; bot if itt uill satisfie him to haue my estatt ingaged for itt, I shall most uillinglie doe itt, and hapie I shall think myself if thatt which I haue by your Ma<sup>tties</sup> may be of anie yuse to you.

The nesessaties thatt the poure bisshopes and ministers will be in for a tyme efter this Assemb[ly] will be sertantie exsiding great. Pardone me, I humblie beshich your Ma<sup>tti</sup>, for saying that in honoure you uill be obliged to relife them, and if your Ma<sup>tti</sup> should be plesed

to send heire 1000<sup>l</sup> in specie, itt uould not onlie relife ther wantes 1638, Nov. 2.  
 bot proufe yusfull to you perhapes in maters of greatteres conse-  
 quense. If this your Ma<sup>ty</sup> think fitt to be doune, the souner itt be  
 exped the better. So, humblie crauing pardone of your Ma<sup>ty</sup> for  
 this my presumption and bouldnes, and praying to God Almighty  
 for your Ma<sup>ty</sup> hapines, according to the bound deutie of your Ma<sup>ties</sup>

Most fathfull, loyall, obedient subject and  
 humblest seruant,

Holiroud hous, 2 of Nouemb.

HAMILTON.

This honest beirer heath doune his best to serfe your Ma<sup>ty</sup>. I  
 leift to his oune report uhatt the suces heath beine.

## 20. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.

MOST SACRED SOUERAN,

I can but acknowledge your Ma<sup>ty</sup> hath just reason to make thoes 1638, Nov. 5  
 alteratiounes in the propositiones which ar to be mead to the  
 Assemblie,<sup>a</sup> and in treuth they ar yett as full as anie of your Ma<sup>ties</sup>  
 proclamatiouns or declar[at]ions], tho not as my instructions, parti-  
 cularlie that which concerns the 5 artt. of Pearth, of the which I  
 haue urytt to my Lo[rd's] Gr[ace] of Cantt[erbury]; and, if your  
 Ma<sup>ty</sup> shall not think fitt to inlarg thatt article, I shall proceid as I  
 ame commanded.

I shall, as your Ma<sup>ty</sup> is plesed to command, holde the day appoynted  
 for the assemb: bot treulie, Sir, my Lo[rd] B[ishop] of Rosse his  
 not cumming doueth much disapoynt me, for ther is none of the  
 Clergie heire thatt can say anie thing in defence of them selves, or  
 giues me anie help; bot I haue urytt for him to Newcastle, and I  
 hoope he will be heire shortlie.

I haue no more to trubbill your Ma<sup>ty</sup> uith for the present, but  
 humblie intreates your Ma<sup>ty</sup> be plesead to think of uhatt I formerlie  
 uryt concerning Beruick and Cairlyle, for ther is nothing to be  
 expected in this assemblie but madnes in the heyegist degree.

<sup>a</sup> See the King's letter of Oct. 29, in *Burnet*, 88.

1638, Nov. 5. Itt is your Ma<sup>tties</sup> greatt and extraordinarie fauoores to me thatt keepes me from going made to, for he who heath a loyall hart to your Ma<sup>tti</sup> can not but greaue a boufe exses to find so manie tra-  
terous ones heire; and myne uould burst if I liued not in hoope to  
sea them reseauē ther just punishments, to sea uich effected is the  
thing in this uoordill most uisshed by

Your Ma<sup>tties</sup>

Most fathfull, loyall, obedient subject  
and humblest seruant,

HAMILTON.

Holiroud hous, the 5 of Nouemb., 1638.

I uas bould to deten your Ma<sup>tties</sup> tuo seruantes, Maxwell and  
Mould, longer then they intendit for procuring of subscripiounes,  
in the uich they haue beine both hartie and seruisable.

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## 21. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.

1638, Nov. 12. MOST SACRETT SOUERAN,

Your Ma<sup>tties</sup> gracious letter of the 5 of Nouemb:<sup>a</sup> is so euidēt a  
demonstration of your goodnes, as all your seruants uho shall knoe  
the same uill be eternallie incoraged uith fathfulnes and fidelitie to  
goe on in your seruise, but abouf all the poure Deane<sup>b</sup> and myself,  
uho was ouer joyed to find himself in your Ma<sup>tties</sup> remembrance,  
and I mead happie by your fauorabill expressiounes.

I dare boldly affirme to your Ma<sup>tti</sup> thatt he heath beine ane yusfull  
seruant to your Ma<sup>tti</sup> heire, and shuch a one as heath contributed  
more to make a deuisioune a mongst this uicked people then all the  
rest of the kingdome heath doune, and heath broght itt to that pase  
thatt the best and greatest part of the ministrie uill be on your  
Ma<sup>tties</sup> syde,<sup>c</sup> I ame confident, shortlie.

<sup>a</sup> This letter is not printed in *Burnet*.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Walter Balconqual, called Dean by anticipation. The late Dean, Robert Hunt, died on the 2d Nov.

<sup>c</sup> In a letter written on Nov. 11 to the Marquis of Huntley, Hamilton expressed



For the intentiones which your Ma<sup>ty</sup> might formerlie haue had 1638, Nov. 12.  
for the desposing of thatt place I can say nothing, yett uith humilitie  
giue me leaue nou to say this, thatt I ame confident to make apeire  
that ther be may be of infinit yuse to you. I shall not nou trubill  
you uith reding the rasones since you haue beine plesed to say thatt  
you uill not dispose of itt till the returne of your seruatt, which nou,  
Sir, can not but be eare long, tho I must acknowledge gratitud  
obliges me to uish the man ueill; yett I protest to God the conue-  
niance of your seruis preuales more uith me then anie other con-  
sideration, uherfor I beshich your Ma<sup>ty</sup> continou in your resolution  
of not disposing of itt till you shall heire him speeke who is the  
humblest of your seruants,

Holyrond hous, 12 of Nonemb.

HAMILTON.

The information which is giuen your Ma<sup>ty</sup> of Argyle is, I feare,  
too treu: I shall informe myself, and giue your Ma<sup>ty</sup> an accout  
ther of.

## 22. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.

MOST SACRETT SOUERAN,

I doe most humble thank you Ma<sup>ty</sup> for your letter (of the 8 of 1638, Nov. 16.  
Nouember<sup>a</sup>) and happie I am in this thatt your Ma<sup>ty</sup> doueth not  
misconceau of me for my playn, free, nay, allmost presumtious  
uryting.

himself less confidently. "My hopes," he wrote, "of effecting anything that is good  
in this assembly is almost vanished, for such is the malice of this mad people ag<sup>t</sup>  
my Lords of the clergy, as nothing will content them but the total abolition of that  
honourable degree in the Church, which neither our religion, justice, nor H. M., either  
with safety or honour can permit. We are thinking of all ways as may make appear  
the unlawfulness of laick elders: amongst many others, this is one, to procure sub-  
scriptions to this enclosed supplication of the ministers The time, I confess, is very  
short, yet I hope y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>p</sup> may get some hands to it, and return it to Glasgow ag<sup>t</sup> the  
21 of this instant . . . There are many ministers that will sign it; so against  
the Assembly I do not doubt but I uill get a considerable number of hands to it,  
which I hope uill be of great use to us."

<sup>a</sup> *Burnet*, 89.



1638, Nov. 16. For the munies I presumed formerlie to mention for the supplie of the clergie heere, I knoe itt uas ane unseasonabill motion, bot, Sir, deuti to you and contience tyed me to itt; for they suffer for God and the king, and lykays ther is a necessitie of hauing sume munis heire for manie occasiounes; and in this countrie ther is none to be had; bot uhatt lyeth in me shall be doune to supply this greatt want till your Ma<sup>tie</sup> take order ther uith.

The noyeis is great that is meade upon the Earle of Mares demission of his charge of the Castell of Edinb[urgh], bot I confes I ame not much mooued uith itt; for nou itt is not so materiall ther being displeased as formerly itt uas, since ther is neather hoope nor possibilitie of douing anie thing heire that is honerabill for your Ma<sup>tie</sup>, but by force. I can not say thatt I shall be abill to put men and amunition in itt, nor indeid to defend itt if the Couenanters should attempt the taking ther of, ther being (besydes cannon) no other armes in itt then 2 brokeng muscates and 6 halbertes; yett for all this I am not in dispare, but to effectk some uhatt thatt may dou good. Tyme will not nou giue me leaue to sett doune the uayes, nor make this lett[er] so particular in manie things as I intended; for being three days past in perpetuall consultation with my Lords the Bishopes and sume others uell affected to your seruiss, resolving of the cariage of this unluckie busines att Glascou; and this day being to begin my jurnay for that place, I therfor beg pardone of your Ma<sup>tie</sup> for the omissiouns in this, and craue leaue to remitt the rest to the nixt ocasion; onlie this, since itt uill be neire upone Cristmas before the garnisouns can be placed in Beruick and Cayrlyll, I intend to protractk the tyme as much as in me lyeth, and not make anie breake in the Assemblie till ther madnes force me to itt; and I must nou cayrie the faerer uith them, seing the uay by the Prince of Orange of putting of men in thoes places is not practicabill, soe that not hitting, itt is imposabill to cayrie thatt busines uith such secrasie as they uill not cume to the knoledge of your intentionis long before they can be put in execution, and my fear is there beeng urned, they may committ greater insolensis then can

be imageden; but ther is noe remedie: your Ma<sup>ty</sup> must goe on, and 1638, Nov. 16.  
 ue take our hasard thatt ar your faithfull seruantes heire, amongst  
 uich number, nor anie other liuing, non shall aprouse himself more  
 loyall then the most obliged and the humblest of them,

HAMILTON.

Holiroud hou, 16 Nouembr, 1638.

This inclosed came in a letter of my Lo. Filding to me, thinking  
 I uas att Court.

I urytt formerlie to your Ma<sup>ty</sup> of a band thatt the Aduocatt had  
 sined, when his place uas confirmed to him in Parll[iament] I uish  
 itt uer so.

### 23. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.

MOST SACRED SOUERAN.

I came to this toun on Saterdag the 17, uher ther ar such a crue 1638, Nov 22.  
 assembled togidder, and thatt in shuch equippage as I dare boldlie  
 affirme neuer mett sines Christianitie uas professed to treatt in  
 eclesiastick affaires. The suces of this meeting can proufe no other  
 than that uich I haue formerlie mentioned, and I uill not trubill  
 your Ma<sup>ty</sup> uith repetitiones of that uich is so unplesing.

Yeisterday the 21 uas the day apoynted for the dounsitting of  
 the assemblie. Accordinglie ue mett, and treulie Sir, my soule uas  
 neuer sader then to sie shuch a sight, not oune gounne a mongst the  
 wholl Companie, manie suords, but manie more daguers (most of  
 them hauing left the guns and pistoles in ther lodgings); the  
 number of the pretended members ar about 260, eache one of this  
 hath tou, sume 3, sume 4 assessores, who pretends not to haue  
 uoyce, but onlie ar come to argue and assist the Commissioners, but  
 the true rasoune is to mak upe a greatt and confused multitud, and  
 I uill ade a most ignorant on, for sume Commissioner ther ar, who  
 can neather urytt nor read, the most part being totallie uoyd of  
 learning, but resolued to follou the opinion of thes feu ministers

1638, Nov. 22. uho pretend to be learned, and thoes be the most rigid and seditious puritance thatt liueth. What then can be expected but a totall disobedience to authoritie, if not a present rebellion, yett this is no more then that uich your Ma<sup>ty</sup> heath had just rasone this longe tyme to loke for, which I uould not so much apprehend if I did not find so greatt ane inclination in the bodie of your Consall to goe a longst ther uay, for belife me, Sir, ther is no puritan minister of them all who uould more uillinglie be fred of Episcopall gouernance then they uould, uhoe falt [it is] that this unluckie busines is cume to this height.

Itt is imposabill to sett doune our proceeding heire, and therefore I shall humblie crafe leife onlie for the present to tell your Ma<sup>ty</sup> onlie in generall thatt yeisterday uas spent in reseauing the seuerall Commissioners and uryting doune of ther names. The uould haue beine att the chousing a Moderator, but thatt I put by, being desyrous to gaine as much tyme as I can. Aboufe 2 or 3 dayes is not to be expected, for I imagin on Saturday the 24 ue shall break. I haue onlie sent this packett to obey your Ma<sup>ties</sup> command, in not being long from wryting.

And this one suit I haue to make to you (yf itt be true which I heir is intended) thatt, if they sease on me and thoes feu of the Consall uho ar fathfull to you, thatt your Ma<sup>tie</sup> nather regard us nor consider our danger, bot take just uangence on your rebellious subjectes. The nixt your Ma<sup>ty</sup> uill be resolued of all, and uill sheue uhatt the part shall be of

Your Ma<sup>ty</sup> most fathfull louyall obedient  
subject and humblest seruant

HAMILTON.

Glasc. the 22 Nouember, 1638.

#### 24. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.

MOST SACRED SOUERAN.

1638, Nov. 27. All the confort I haue in this miserabill place is in reding thes letters that your Ma<sup>ty</sup> is plesed so frequentlie to honoare me uith;



yett they make me euer sensible of my misfortune in not being 1638, Nov. 27  
 abill to doe your Ma<sup>ty</sup> anie seruise ; for this uicked people's harts ar  
 so ceared as they ar alltogider uoyd of rason.

I shall giue your Ma<sup>ty</sup> onlie a short account of our proceeding att  
 this tyme, remitting particulars to thes letters which my Lo[rd] of  
 Rose, and the Dean, haue uryten to my Lo[rd] of Cantt[erbury].

5 dayes we haue spent uher in I dare say ther hes neuer beine  
 since the beginning of the uordill greater partealitie shoen, but  
 your Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s seruise will not suffer ther by, nor I trust haue I neglected  
 or slipped the taking of hould of thes things which might proufe  
 aduantagious for your Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s ends.

Diuers protestationnes I haue mead uich will be this fare usefull  
 as sufficientlie by them shall be demonstrat to the uorld the unjust  
 proceedings of this assemble.

This day I intend to make your Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s plesour knoen, itt not  
 being posabill for me longer to keipe them in anie temper, hauing  
 gained both Saterday and yesterday meeirly by shifts.

Resolved they ar not to obey anie command that shall be laide  
 upone them, for the discharging of this assemb[ly]; in itt they uill  
 proceed to the censuring of my Lo[rds] of the clergie, tho all absent,  
 and notwithstanding of ther declinature, Episcopacie they uill  
 declare contrarie to the uoord of God, and neuer to haue beine  
 lafullie estabellished in this kingdome, the seruise booke and booke of  
 Cann[ons] they uill condem as popishe, and thousand madnesis more,  
 but, sir, be most assured thatt all ther proceeding is illegall, and  
 uhilles my lyfe lesteth, shall euer be mentened so to be by

Your Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s most fathfull loyall obedient  
 subject and humblest servant,

Glascon, 27. Nouemb.  
 1638.

HAMILTON.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Hamilton's very remarkable letter of this date printed in the *Hardwicke State Papers* (ii. 113) is not now at Hamilton Palace.



1638, Nov. 28.

## 25. PATRICK MAULE TO THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON

[EXTRACT].

I shall wish the great noise of appointing generalls and other commanders heer,<sup>a</sup> and the much talking of the preparing of a great armie doe not sett the Couenanters soe a fire as of necessitie his Ma<sup>tie</sup> must punish with forse. Thire bussines is onllie knowine to the Erll Marshall<sup>b</sup> and Mr. Controller,<sup>c</sup> for I think his Ma<sup>tie</sup> confers leetle with anie Privie Counsaller heerein: noe Scotsman knoes aney thing of it but at the second hand: the Bishope of Canterbu<sup>ie</sup> madles in noe busines consarning Scotland with his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, nor will not but in publick, wher hee is to give his opinione as a Privie Counsellor.

## 26. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.

MOST SACRED SOUERAN,

1638, Dec. 1.

Upone the 27, as I imaged, the insolencies and indiscretiouns of thes of the assemb[ly] did more euidentlie appeare then formerlie they had doune. I was pressed to declare the objectionous uich I was to make against them, the day at that tyme being fare spent, I tould them I could not doe itt that night, but the morrow I uould. The nixt morning efter 9 a clocke, I conuened the uhole Cousall in the Chapture house within the Church, wher I acquainted them with my present resolution of desoluing the assemb[ly] and the reasons for my so douing; efter much tyme spent in laboring to satisfie so manie as I could, itt was cuninglie the most treacherouslie inquyred by Arguyle, if my intention was not to haue the Consall's aduyce uhidder this assem[bly] was not lafully constituted, and whidder it was not fit to dissolve the same upon thes rasones uich I had mentioned. My ansuer was to him thatt I had command frome your Ma<sup>ty</sup> to acquent ther Lo[rds]hips with your intentionous, and to desyre ther approbation to your Ma<sup>ties</sup> resolutionous, but my instructions in this uer posatife, if

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* in England.<sup>b</sup> The Earl of Arundel.<sup>c</sup> Sir Henry Vane.

shuch and shuch accorranseis happened, which he himself could not 1688, Dec. 1.  
denay but ther had, then I should neather assist myself longer att  
this assemb[ly] nor permitt itt to continou, and therfor I requyred  
onlie ther aduyce in the maner of disoluing the same, and uold not  
suffer the agitating uhither itt be fitt to be doune or not. Abouse  
tou houres uer spent, but no aduyce I could receaue, yett sume hartie  
expressions uer mead by deuers of the Lords. From thence imme-  
diatlie I uent to that part of the Church uher the assemb[ly] satte;  
uho long expected my cumming; I uill not trubbill your Ma<sup>ty</sup> uith  
uhatt past ther, but remittes itt to the relatione of Den Ballca[nqual]  
uho heath mead a particulare relation ther of to<sup>my</sup> Lo[rd] of  
Cant[erbury]. Onlie this in generall, I trust my cariage hes beine  
shuch as your Ma<sup>ty</sup> seruice hes not suffered throu anie defalt of  
myne, nor haue I exsided uhatt your Ma<sup>ty</sup> gaue me uarrand for, but  
heath keepped uith in the boounds alloued me, and left your Ma<sup>ty</sup>  
freeire then you uas content I should declare.

Efter I had dischargd the assembl[i]es farther proceeding I con-  
uened the Consall immediatlie againe att my lodging, uher I  
declared unto them the grife uich you Ma<sup>ty</sup> uould haue uhen  
you receaued the aduertisment of this dayes proceedings, the cayre  
uich your Ma<sup>ty</sup> uould haue of preseruing the puratie of religione  
notuithstandinge of all ther madnesses, signifying lykuys unto them  
your Ma<sup>ties</sup> expres command to me to make knoen thatt whosoeuer  
he uer who suffered prejudice eather in fortune or anie other uayes,  
by disloyaltie in adhering to you and your cause, should be no  
lousers therby, if you keiped your Crowne, and this I uisshed them  
to make knoen to all your subjectes.

Uith sume arte I procured this letter frome them to your Ma<sup>ty</sup>  
signed by all exsept Argyle and Amunt, uho pretended sume excuse  
and uer not present att Consall.

I had a proclamation prepared, but durst not present itt to them,  
beinge all together; for feare of a refusall; and therefore onlie tould  
them in generall, thatt I uould giue derectiouns for a proclamation,  
and thatt the morrow morning itt uould be tyme aneughe to be  
singd, itt being then neire 8 att night.

1638, Dec. 1.

The nixt morning I goat itt signed by manie, yett nott in the ordinarie uay. Doune itt is, and since I uas the procurer of itt, I uill say no more ther of, but thatt I ame glad they ar so nou engaged.

Att the Croce itt uas proclamed, and ther mett with a seditious protestation.

Thatt morning I spoke att lenth uith Arguyle, uho I found resolved no longer to conseall him, but resolved to declare himself openlie for the Couenanters, which he heath since mead good, for he stayed in toun and heath beine att ther meittings, and in publick heath cayried himself more lyke a ring leader then a follouer, and doueth acknoledge this ane lafull assemb[ly] and uill adheare to uhatt so euer is doune therin.

Ther ar sume other Counselers uho uill folloue his exampill, but they ar not manie, nor ame I griued for ther so douing, for nou justlie they may be estimed in the same catigorie uith the rest, and that, in the frist place<sup>a</sup> . . . . . just as I formerlie supposed, and seing I can be of no use heire to your Ma<sup>ty</sup>, being for the present I haue no meanes to make ani head to oppose ther insolencies, I intend efter I haue settled sume things efter the best maner I can, to uaite upone you Ma<sup>ty</sup>, hauing much more to say then posablie I can expres by urytt; and seaing I haue outliued ther threatens, I dout not care long to sea your Ma<sup>ty</sup> master ther insolencies, but by force itt must be, wher for againe I humblie beseache your Ma<sup>ty</sup> to prepare for itt uith a<sup>ll</sup> expedition. So of all men liuing thinking my self most miserabill, in thatt I haue nat beine abill to serfe you as I uould, and praying to God for your Ma<sup>ties</sup> happines, I rest

You Ma<sup>ty</sup> most fathful loyall obediant

subject and humblest seruant,

Hamilton the  
1 of Decb. 1638.

HAMILTON,

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<sup>a</sup> Illegible from damp.



## 27. LORD GORING TO THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON

[EXTRACT].

I shall be bold to assure you that what encouragement whatever 1638, Dec. 4.  
those ill affected with you may gather from hence, trust your humble  
servant so much that all will deceive them, for such is the real  
devotion of all this people here<sup>a</sup> to our most blessed king and  
master as, though the ill filthy breaths of some few ill affected  
persons may underhand endeavour a storm, yet such is the wisdom  
of the whole body who live so happily and plentifully under this  
gratious happy government as when any ten stir here let me [be]  
hanged up at the next tree.

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## 28. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.

MOST SACRED SOUERAN,

1638, Dec. 11.

Since my last to your Ma<sup>tie</sup> this pretended Ass[em]b[ly] hath con-  
stantlie gone on in all ther intended coursie, which ar the same  
wherewith I haue formerlie acquainted your Ma<sup>tie</sup>; uherfor I will not  
nou trubbell you with repetition of that which is so unpleasing.

Upone the arriual into the Forth of your Ma<sup>ties</sup> pinnace, the  
Providence, who by stres of weathier was forced in, hauing spent his  
mane mast, and my hauing got in unto the Castell some men with  
prouisions, and the rumore of a garnison to haue beine placed in  
Beruick and Car[lisle], with the bodie of ane armie raised in the  
noorth of England, hes caused soe great a commosioun, and shuch  
confluence of people flocke to this toun, as I doe not knoe yett  
uhatt effectkes itt may produce. Manie ueill affected to your  
Ma<sup>ties</sup> seruice being sumeuhat incorage, bot manie more by the  
Couenanters' malice ar mightelie insenced, which treulie, Sir, I  
uould not haue [regretted had your Ma<sup>ties</sup>]<sup>b</sup> preparatiouns beine in

<sup>a</sup> In England.<sup>b</sup> Injured by damp, and filled in from conjecture.



1638, Dec. 11. shuch forwardnes as I both hoped and uished for; but hauing understoud by Sir James Hammilton your Ma<sup>tties</sup> plesoure at the full (for your fauore to uhome, and for your Ma<sup>tties</sup> gracious letter to my self, I can but onlie returne the sincere thanks of a loyall hart), I shall accordinglie gouerne my self, and seaing itt uill be yett sume mounths before you can be in redines, I shal stryue to ameuse them the best I can, and probabillie my leuing of thes partes uill be on of the best meanes; nor indeid could my staying heire att this present proufe anie uay usefull to your seruiss, for treatt uith them I cannot, they hauing put themselves by their disobediance in the condition of rebeles, and to rase anie forsis (albeit men uer uilling to searfe), neather hauing munnis nor armes, nor anie safe place of rendeuous, is not nou a thing possiblie to be doune. Yett, Sir, I hoope that uhen your Ma<sup>ttie</sup> shall be redie to goe thatt uay to uoorke (and in my opinion the souner the better, for manie rasounes thatt I shall shoe your Ma<sup>tti</sup> uhen I haue the hapines to sea you), thatt a considerabill partie uill be got heire to searfe you. I shall lykuys remitt till thatt tyme the particuler uayes of douing ther of, uich shall be so sounne as posabillie I can; and uhile I haue lyfe shall proufe your Ma<sup>tties</sup>

Most fathfull, loyall, obediand subject

and humblest seruand,

Holiroud houss, 11 Decbr. 1638.

HAMILTON.

## 29. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.

1638, Dec. 17. [MOST SACRED SOUERAN,]

This last ueeke I intended to haue parted frome hence, but the night before (being the 11) that I uas to begin my jurnay, I reseued your Ma<sup>tties</sup> gracious letter of the 7 of this instant,<sup>a</sup> uich caused me againe to think upon all shuch meanes as might secure thos of your Ma<sup>tties</sup> partie heer from publick uiolence (since uich tyme I haue beine lykuys, throu indisposition of bodie, unabill to trauell). To my former proceedings I haue onlie added a procla[mation] uich

<sup>a</sup> *Burnet*, 107.

. . . conteans the rasounes of desolving the Assemblie . . . 1638, Dec. 17.  
 subjects to acknoledge itt, and your Ma<sup>ties</sup> . . . and am  
 assured . . . thoes uho shall adhere . . .  
 if I could possibillie . . . haue contributed anie  
 . . . place of heate . . . thoght of parting  
 . . . goodnes which is offered . . . not by  
 them for ther oune . . . your Ma<sup>ties</sup> Commissioner  
 heere subjectk hourlie to reseae infinitt affronts, through the uich  
 royall authoratie can not be but more uronged. This I shall say to  
 your Ma<sup>ty</sup>, that more can not be done by me to shoe the caire your  
 Ma<sup>ty</sup> heath of protecting thos that doueth adheare to you, then is  
 alredie performed; and by my absence for the present I ame con-  
 fident your Ma<sup>ties</sup> seruice can reseae no prejudice, nor uill your  
 partie be discouraged, but rather incoraged, knoing I uill use my best  
 meanes uith your Ma<sup>ty</sup> to preserue them from reuing . . .  
 . . . some of the pryme Couenanters . . .  
 publick acts of uiolence . . . in readines, and  
 in termes of sune hoopes of accommodation; but I haue beine mett  
 uith so much neglect and contempt, as my hart is redie to burst,  
 yett I shall part uith them in as faire termes as I can.

I shall neuer conceaue the daite of my commission expyred so  
 long as your Ma<sup>ty</sup> shall think me uorthy to be trusted . . .  
 did onlie intimat to the Counsall thatt I had . . . Ma<sup>ty</sup>  
 to lay doune my com[mission], to the end . . . the more  
 hartilie . . . prepared shuch . . . that I uould  
 . . . the end, for itt uas . . . letter which  
 deated . . . that proc[lamation] ther . . . to Huntlie  
 . . . be delayed till the tyme . . . therfore  
 for the present I shall doe nothing.

I haue shoen my Lo: Tresurer hou great his obligation is to your  
 Ma<sup>ty</sup> in thatt particular mentioned in the postscript of your Ma<sup>ties</sup>  
 letter, uith the uich he restes ueill satisfied; and treulie, Sir, is  
 nouayes uilling to cume up till the tyme he haue cleired all his  
 busines heire, uich the publick affairs haue kept him onlie frome.

1638, Dec. 17. I believe the morrou they uill make ane end of ther pretended Assemb[ly], and uhen I haue hard the certentie of all ther mad acts I intend to part, tho I shall not be abill to make that heast in my jorney as I uishe, being indeid not . . . I desyre not other-ways to . . . myselfe,

Your Ma<sup>ties</sup>

Most fathfull, loyal, and obedient subject  
and humblest servant,

HAMILTON.

Holiroud hous, 17 Decb. 1638.

30. SIR WILLIAM STEWART<sup>a</sup> TO THE MARQUIS OF  
HAMILTON.

1639, Apr. 13. MAYE IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

At your last being in Hamilton wheare you did me the honour to hier from me the miserable estat I was in in the castell of Dumbarton, for want of trustie men and munition, besyds the weaknesse of the place itself, and finding noe houe almost of redresse in anye of these wants, your Grace did advyse me to carry myself in a familiar waye, that none might take occasion to distrust me or suspect that I did mistrust or feare any harme from them untill I werre better provyded for my owne defence; which cours I have kept still, expecting that ather by my Lo[rd] Tresurers meanes, or by sea I should haue beene supplied, and therfore I durst not giue thame any anser of jealousie, for if I hadde I knew they werre euer mynded to haue sunke a sheppe or tuo in the chanell of Clyd, and soe haue stopt the passage of the reuer; as alsoe as I told your Grace I wes seure that if I should at any tyme discouered myself the soldyers wold haue betrayed me, whoe as I haue found out for sertane thaye hadde resolued and agried with those of Dumbarttane to haue deliuert me ather alyue or dead in there hands, and within

<sup>a</sup> Late Governor of Dumbarton Castle.



this monthe: when I hadde hard this I thought I wold putt thame to 1639, Apr. 13.  
 a tryell by making theme renew there oath of fidelitie. Thay all  
 answered me that they wold keepe the castell bot wold nather  
 yeald to goe abroad as I should comand thame upon annye occasion  
 nather wold suffer any to comme in (that they should be sent thither  
 by the King or the Duik <sup>a</sup>) that myght be there masters, so that  
 herby your Grace may consider whither or not I hadde reason to  
 temporise. Now all my letters both to the Duike and my Lo[rd]  
 Tresorer cann testifie my dilligence in laying these things before  
 there eyes, bot could neuer haue any redresse. Now I leaue all to  
 your Grace to consider what it wold haue auayled to haue inclosed  
 my sellff in such a waike place amongst such trayterous sojors, whom  
 I tooke in by severall command [?] on the sudden, all almost  
 couenanters, without sooe much munitiōe as to serue three dayes  
 if I hadde hadde honest men to use it. Now to proue what I had  
 said of the soldiōrs, they haue takene in a good part of thame to  
 serue againe in the castell for the reward of there treachery. Besydes  
 this I hadde not any advyse from any bodie nather before nor efter  
 the taking of the castell of Ed[in]gb[urgh] till I was takene myself;  
 and my Lo[rd] Tresurer whoe hadde beene at Court did not send me  
 any, of whom I hadde most reason to haue expected it. Now, my  
 Lord, nather my losses nor feares of what maye ensew to me troubles  
 me halffe soe much as to think that his Ma<sup>tie</sup> should thinke that I  
 should euer haue harbord such an ingrate and base a thought as to  
 haue beene consentinge to the betraying of this place (for all this  
 cuntrie, though my enemys, knows the contrary), and belonging to  
 his Maj<sup>tie</sup> from whom I haue reseaued soe many gracious fauors bot  
 especially that he hes euer beene pleased to haue a good opinion of  
 me, the which before I should justly loose I hadde farre rather dye  
 a hundreth deathes. Wherefore my humble seut to your Grace is  
 that yow will be pleased to desyre of his Ma<sup>tie</sup> that I maye haue  
 leaue to come and ather justifie mysellf or suffer if I be giltie, and  
 that I be not forced to lye ydle now when my gracious master hes

<sup>a</sup> The Duke of Lennox.



1639, Apr. 13. usse of my seruice, whear, God willing, I shall giue prowff that the losse of the castell was against my will by hazarding of my best blood for the recouery of it; and if it pleases your Grace to show this letter to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> and advyse me what I shall doe hierin, yow shall gaine a servant for euer, whoe before he will be esteemed a traytor to soe gracious a master will laye the saddle on the right hors and euer remaine

Your Grace's most humble  
and obliged servant

W. STEWART.

Ed[in]gb[urgh] April 13<sup>th</sup>, 1639.

### 31. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.<sup>a</sup>

1639, before  
April 15. MOST SACRED SOUERAN,

I ame still more and more confirmed in my opinioune thatt itt is most necessari for the good of<sup>b</sup> your Ma<sup>tties</sup> seruice thatt the procl[amation] be published with all posabill expeditioun, and I conceaue itt may be doune thus; by sending itt singned by you Ma<sup>tti</sup> inclosed in a letter of yours derected to the prouist and balleifes of Edinburg commanding them under the payne of trasoune, to sea, and caues the same to be proclaimed att the Marked Croose of that toun, uith in on oure after the resett ther of, and to shoe the same to none under the sad<sup>c</sup> payne till itt be proclaimed, and the nixt Sunday to caues itt be publickly red in the Cathedrall church.

The messenger uould haue your Ma<sup>tties</sup> pas and instructiouns to cast him self to be in the toun about 9 a clocke in the morning uho neides not knoe whatt he carieth, yett uould be sume discrett man becaues certanly he uill be questioned.

The lyke cours uith diuers other tounes as is uith Ed[in]g[burgh], and seuerall men dispatched to each of them.

<sup>a</sup> Copy in Hamilton's hand.

<sup>b</sup> The word "of" is repeated in the MS.

<sup>c</sup> *i. e.*, "said."

Lykuyse all such Scotcs nobill men as ar for the present with your Ma<sup>ty</sup> uould haue on or more of them giuen them, with order to caues anie man whome they think fitt, read them in all shuch places uher they are best abill, be itt eather att Churchis or merkeatt Crosses, and to spread as mani copies of them in the Countrie, as they can.

1639, before  
April 15.

Thes ar sume generall groundes which uhen your Ma<sup>ty</sup> heath thoght on, and debated with shuch who ar with you, and uhoes fidelatie may be trusted, I hoope may ther efter be put in execution; housoeuer I submitt my opinioun to your Ma<sup>t</sup> judicious consideration, humblye crauing pardon for uhatt I haue sad.

The tyme in the procl[amation] is not filled upe, thatt is giuen to the subject, for their giuing testimonie of ther deuitfull receuing of your Ma<sup>ties</sup> grace, and obaying of your plesoure. In my opinion itt uould not exceid 8 dayes efter the publicacioun of the procl[amation]; in uhatt so euer tyme your Ma<sup>t</sup> resolves on, I uould be aduertised ther of att Yarmo[uth] thatt I may insert the same.

Lykewys the Crissen name of mani<sup>a</sup> uer unknone to me; if the Clerk Register or anie eales thatt are ther knoe them, they uould lykuys be sent me to Yarmouth.

Ther ar only tou ministares declared tratoures; your Ma<sup>ty</sup> resolved to haue 3: uhome your Ma<sup>ty</sup> piches on, his name uould likuyse be sent, or if no more thatt then I be aduertised.

Becaues itt uill be imposabill to gett the proclamatiouns printed in Scotland I haue left the just dubill of that which I haue heir with my Lord Grace of Cantt[erbury], thatt upone notice frome your Ma<sup>ty</sup> or myself, his Grace may giue immediatt order for the printing of the same, and sending them with all expeditioun to you Ma<sup>tie</sup>, and from thence youe may find meaines to spred them in Scotland, and lykuyse to send them to me by sea.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* of persons excluded from the benefit of pardon. The draft of the proclamation here referred to is printed (so far as it differs from that eventually issued) in Mr. Hamilton's *Calendar of State Papers* (1639), p. 79.

1639, before  
April 15.

This uould be remembered thatt if your Ma<sup>tti</sup> doe not send his Grace a perfytt copie thatt att leist he may haue the Crysned names sett down that we omitted, the dayes thatt ar giuen for the subject declaring themselves obedient and uhatt alteratiounes eales is med.

Since thatt so hapily Aberden hooleds out, and is lykly so to doe, give me leaue humblie to represent to your Ma<sup>tti</sup>, if itt may not be fitt thatt uhen the Earle of Linsay cummes to Beruick, ther may not sume of the men thatt nou ar in the toune be imbarcked in thoes shipes thatt bringes hime ther, and sent alongst with me thidders, or, if I goe not myself, uith shuch forsies as I shall send; for if ue should be abill both to send secource thidder and infest them in the Firth, it uould infinitely amayes them, and the more if att the same tyme the garisounes att Beruick and Carlyll mad inroods into the Countrie, and your Ma<sup>tties</sup> self apeir on the other syd of Newcastell, nay perhapes you may not thinke itt unfit to march touerds Beruick.

Thuse Sir I haue brifly urytt my thoghtes to your Ma<sup>tti</sup>, and att Yarmouth I expect the signification of yoor pleasours which shall euer be obeyed

by your Ma<sup>ts</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

*Indorsed*:—Copie of a letter to his Ma<sup>tti</sup>.

### 32. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.<sup>a</sup>

1639, Apr. 15. MOST SACRED SOUERAN,

Your Ma<sup>tties</sup> letters of the 7 and of the 10<sup>b</sup> I receued this morning with the inclosed uarrant for the using of actes of hostilitie to all uho shall not submitt themselves according to the tenour of the proclamation, for ansuer to your Ma<sup>ttie</sup> of the 7 I shall not faill to use all posabill meanes to publishe your Ma<sup>ttie</sup> proclamation, uher so euer I cume, and if I doue not put your command in execution against shuch uho doueth not receaue itt as the oght, or att leist so fare as

<sup>a</sup> Copy in Hamilton's hand.

<sup>b</sup> Printed in *Burnet*, 120, 121.



by the assistance of 5000 unexprimented men can be expected, then 1639, Apr. 15. lett me be<sup>a</sup> neuer be more imployed by you. Your Ma<sup>ties</sup> of the 10 mentiounes thatt you haue spoke att lenth uith Mester Tresurare,<sup>b</sup> and thatt your Ma<sup>t</sup> agreeth in all thing but on, which is thatt your forceis goeing in to the Firth will make the rebels enter Ingland the sooner. In his letter to me he sayes your Ma<sup>tie</sup> expectes my aduyce in this particular, which I uonder att, your Ma<sup>ties</sup> plesoure being cleerly signified in your oune letter to myself, and not only order to goe on, but eiuen uishe of your Ma<sup>ti</sup> that I uer ther alredie, which by God grace I shall obay and make uhatt heast I can thidder, only if uedder<sup>c</sup> uill permitt me I intend to stop on tyde neir the Holy Eyland, my oune poure judgment going a longst uith your commands. Itt uill be 8 dayes before I can get ther, tho the uind be faire, but of this I haue urytten att lenth to him, as I haue done in manie other particulars, and so uill not trubill your Ma<sup>ti</sup> uith repitatiounes, only giue me leiuie to make this on shutt<sup>d</sup> to your Ma<sup>tt</sup>, that uhat soever you uould haue posatify obayed, thatt you uould uicheshafe<sup>e</sup> to expres itt by a uoord or tou under your oune hand, and if itt be then neglected, lett him be punised who is  
the humblest of your Ma<sup>ts</sup> seruantt.

I haue receued the blankes and shall giue your Ma<sup>ti</sup> ane just account of them.

Ther uill not be of all the 5000, 200 that euer had a muscatt in ther hand, which is the only thing trubbles me.

*Indorsed*.—Copie of a lettre to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> the 15th of Aprill from Yarmouth Roade.

### 33. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.<sup>f</sup>

MOST SACRETT SOUERAIGNE,

This day about one a clocke, S<sup>r</sup> Thomes Mortoune, and Birone 1639, Apr. 18. came into this roade with their Regiments, S<sup>r</sup> Symon Hartcoate

<sup>a</sup> "Be" not erased.

<sup>c</sup> The weather.

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* vouchsafe.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Henry Vane, Treasurer of the Household.

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* "one suit."

<sup>f</sup> Copy, not in Hamilton's hand.



1639, April 18. hathe been in the toune of Yarmouthe euer since the 13th, but their hathe been so muche winde, and in this roade their goeth such a sea, as we haue been able to gett but few of his men aboard; our boats are now all ashore, and if the wind slaken but a litle, I hope most of them will be aboard this night.

The Coronells giues me informatione that the soldiours ar extreem good bodies of men, uell cloathed, but manie of the armes defective, and the muskets of seuerall boores, that their ar hardlie any trained men amongst them—no, not so many as to make gerganes, [?] and that it will be impossible for them, in less then one monthes time after their landing, to make them fitt for any seruice.

Lykwyse I find all the 3 regiments not compleet in their officers, particularlie Sr Symon Hartcoates, for himself was heer a boord with me, so extreemlie ill that I doe not thinke he can live one weeke at sea, and so muche doeth himself apprehend it, as he hathe giuen himself for lost if he should be but that tyme at sea. I dare say to you it is not feyned, for I neuer saw any man more greaued that the constitution of his bodie will not indure sea, so of necessitie he must be left; and that whiche greeues me the more is that he hath neuer a Left: Coronell, for Paggell, who was designed for that place, is not as yet come out of Holland, nor doeth he knowe when he will come. He wants lykwyse three captanes and diuerse liutenants, so as this regiment consists of souldiers totallie ignorant and without officers; and what seruice they will be able to doe, or how to gouerne them without officers, I leaue it to your Maties consideration. Your Matie, I expected trained men, uel armed and expert in the handling of them, who at our verie first landing might a been able to haue done service. It is true that when I wryte last I kneu what the Kentishe men were, but I hoped that they had been the worst, but nou I find them all alyke; so, as I must confess to your Matie, I fear that if I put them to any present seruice a shore, we may receave one affront. It is true so long as we ar aboard we are safe, but that will not annoye the rebels as I intended, which is a greater greafe to me then if I had lost my oune

lyfe, for I had rather die then returne without doing something. 1639, April 18.  
 worthie in some measor of thois favors you haue been pleased to put  
 on me; and, seinge this is the conditione of theis forces which your  
 Ma<sup>tie</sup> hathe been pleased to designe for this expeditione, and that  
 theis defects heath hapened, whiche could not be forsene by me, that  
 you will be pleased theirfoir gratuslie take into consideration  
 bothe what we can be able to performe, and what will be fittest for  
 your Ma<sup>ties</sup> seruice. Their may yet mucche be saide for our going  
 on with the first designe, but more now against it then formerlie.  
 Moneys I haue sufficientlie aboard for the 3 monthes, and victuals  
 for the souldiours for 10 weeks; but the officers hathe been so neg-  
 legent, as most of them hathe not provydit any at all; so, as I shall  
 be forced (unless I wold haue a present mutinie) to stay yet 3 dayes  
 heer to accomodat them, in which tyme of ten weeks many things  
 may occur, we lying upon the coast, wherin we may prove very  
 adventagious to your Ma<sup>ties</sup> seruice. On the other part, if nothing  
 considerable be done, nor the rebells much anoyed, they might giue<sup>a</sup>  
 curage,<sup>b</sup> and of all men living most miserable. I was neuer ane  
 greatt undertaker, and now to promeis mucche, considering who they  
 ar that goeth with me, wer madnes; yet this mucche I will saye, I  
 shall be able to make a great diversione, and keep them in per-  
 petuall alarmes, if your Ma<sup>tie</sup> still continue in your resolutions that  
 I shall goe on where my instructions leadeth me to. If otherwayes  
 your Ma<sup>tie</sup> shall dispose of these men, in my opinione Berwicke will  
 be the fittest place for them to be put in (but it greueth my hart to  
 thinke of that), for at the Holie Iland they may be landed, when I  
 shall attend your Ma<sup>ties</sup> posative order; yet this suit I can not but  
 make your Ma<sup>tie</sup>, and I hope your Ma<sup>tie</sup> will not find it unfit for your  
 seruice, that, if upon consultatione with such of your Ma<sup>ties</sup> servants  
 who ar with you, and you thinke fitt to communicat this desyre to,  
 you shall find it necessarie (which I still hoip you will not) to make  
 stay of the troopes, that your Ma<sup>tie</sup> will giue me leaue to goe with

<sup>a</sup> Probably for "gain."

<sup>b</sup> Something has been omitted by the copyist.

1639, April 18. your shippes, and one thousand or 500 of the men which I shall make choyse of, and euen with them if I do not vex them, hang me at my returne. I haue only wryte to Mr. Tresurer, for I know not with whom els your Ma<sup>tie</sup> doth communicate, for the which I heir bothe he and I is muche blamed. I must not omitt the letting your Ma<sup>tie</sup> knowe the infinite caire of my Lo[rd] Admyrall,<sup>a</sup> who hathe so fitted me with euerie thing that is under his charge, as I can not say we want any thinge. This is all I shall say for the present, but that I am and shall euer be loyall and the humblest of your Ma<sup>ties</sup> servants.

From Yarmouth Roade, the 18 Apryle,  
at 4 in the afternoone.

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### 34. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.<sup>b</sup>

1639, April 29. MOST SACRED SOUURAINNE,

This day I had the happines to receaue 3 of your lettres<sup>c</sup> wryte with your oune sacred hand, for the whiche favors, by God's grace, my actions shall testifie my thankfulnes.

I shall onlie say one answ[er] to them all, that as I am commanded so I shall proceed; and if God hathe not bereft the people of that notione of there judgements for a greater punishment to them, as they haue themselues of that duetie and aleadgeance as the pro[cl]amation is now most judiciously qualified, they will not onlie acquiesse therewith, but in all submissive obediens acknowledge your Ma<sup>ties</sup> singular grace and mercie to one undeserving people. What they will doe no man can foretell, but probablie it must be the fear of your Ma<sup>ties</sup> power that must worke them to obedience; and I trust in God that terror will be strucke in their hearts when they shall not onlie hear of your Ma<sup>ties</sup> preparationes but see them, and if they continue in their obstinacie, feill them to; and though I have

<sup>a</sup> The Earl of Northumberland.

<sup>b</sup> Copy not in Hamilton's hand.

<sup>c</sup> Probably those of April the 18th, 20th, and 23rd. Printed in *Burnet*, 122, 123. The date of the second is there misprinted as the 10th.



no great reasone to promeis muche, yet I dare say my pairte shall be done, for I shall neuer proue false or feeble. If your Ma<sup>tie</sup> be at Berwicke by the 12 or 15 of May, it will be about the expyryng of the tyme given to the rebells in the procl[amation]s for the acknowledgeing of their duetie, which if they doe not, then I shall begin, and your Ma<sup>tie</sup> will be reddie to second, and God I hoipe will giue a blessinge to it. I shall be carefull of Tamptallon, but I am in truble to knoe wheir the Marquis of Douglas is; therefor, if your Ma<sup>tie</sup> will be pleased to direct him either to come to me or send home one whome he may trust, that it may be collected betwixt us how it shall be possessed, it will muche facilitate the worke.

I am almost alreddie in truble what to doe with the Scots shippes that we take, for we have not men to man them, I haveinge met with 4 of them. I intend to carie a gentle hand over them, yet will haue them to take the oathe I sent your Ma<sup>tie</sup>, and take ordinance out of them, giving a note under my hand eather to returne the ordinance or munie for them, and so permit them to goe on in their intended voiage. This course I will keep till we enter in hostalitie, and in this tyme of treatie I shall [use] all possible means to make all sensible of their owne dainger and your Ma<sup>ties</sup> goodnes, shall press the delyuerie upp of the Cassill, and others your Ma<sup>ties</sup> houses in my hands, which, if I could effect, the worke were at ane end; but this is too much to be hoiped for, yet not so muche as in reasone might be expected. It is now highe tyme for all Scotsmen that ar in this kingdome, that either hathe hearts to serue you, or dare, to repair to Scotland; for now is the tyme that they may be of use or neuer, wherfore I wold advyse that all wer commanded home; and lett them take the hazards, except it be Sir Lewes Stewart, and such others whom as your Ma<sup>tie</sup> shall thinke fitt to retien by you to consulte upon all ocasioness. I hoipe to get the proclamatioun published betwixt<sup>a</sup> and Sunday in Edinb[urgh] though not in the ordinarie way; yet it must serue. I intend to stay the morrow all day heer, for the dispacthinge of diuers busines in Berwick and the

<sup>a</sup> A Scotch expression for "betwixt this and Sunday."



1639, April 29. Holie Iland, if the wind come not easterlie, and then it is deathe to ryde in this place; so I must at that instant packe from hence. The principall cause of my staye is to get alongst the shipp with amunitione that came from Hull, and 3 colliers whiche carried my Lord Lindsaye's men for myne slick<sup>a</sup> in thois we have, as they fall sicke apace. At Berwicke to take order with the Scots officers, my opinion is for them that they goe lykwyse in uith suche of the nobilitie as your Ma<sup>tie</sup> sends; or, if that be altogether unsaffe, they must come to me by sea, but let them not come without 6 or 7 weeks' victualls. This last way I lyke least, and perhaps it may be conseallable to advyse your Ma<sup>tie</sup> to reteen Generall Ruthen,<sup>b</sup> with the officers, by your selfe; for who knoethe, when your Ma<sup>tie</sup> is neer the borders, what Scots may flocke to you, if I be gone. I shall take the best order I can for the shippe with the amunitione to followe me, and the 3 colliers for the officers your Ma<sup>tie</sup> must be pleased to send orders to them. It will be some tyme before your Ma<sup>tie</sup> will heer agane from me agane. In the interim my endeauors shall not be wontinge to proue my self

Your Ma<sup>ties</sup>

Most loyall, faithfull subject and seruant.

From aboard the Rainbowe, the 29th, at night,  
befoir Berwicke.

*Indorsed by Hamilton*:—Copie of a letter to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> of the 29 Apryll, from Berwick Roade.

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### 35. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.<sup>c</sup>

1639, May 7. MOST SACRED SOUERAN.

I haue giuen Sir Hanrie Wayn<sup>d</sup> ane particulare account of all thatt heath occurred since I parted from Beruick, to that which I haue sad to him I shall humbly craue leue to ade this to your self,

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* sick.

<sup>b</sup> General Ruthven, afterwards Lord Ettrick.

<sup>c</sup> Draft, partly in Hamilton's hand.

<sup>d</sup> Sir Henry Vane.

which I conceaue I ame obliged to doe in regard of the trust you haue beine plesed to repose on me. 1639, May 7.

Your Ma<sup>ties</sup> affaires ar in ane desperatt condition. The intraged people heir runes in to the height of Rebellion and ualkes with a blind obedience, as by ther tratorous leaders they ar commanded, and resolued they ar rather to obay then to embrace or exsept of your profered grace in your last most gratiuous proclamation. You uill find itt a uoorke of greatte difficultie and of vast expens to curb them by force, ther pouer being greater, ther combinatione stronger then can be imagined, and seaing yett sume dayes must pase before I shall be abill to offend them in anie considerabill uay more then by stoping of the trade, and keping of them in allarmes, in regard thatt my men can not handill, lett be discharge, ther muscats, therfor I haue thought fitt ——? to giue your Ma<sup>ty</sup> this aduertisement, thatt if you do not find your self in that passe which is rerquiseat you may think of sume uay of paching itt up, and this I suffer myselfe to uryte, because they seime to offer all siuill obediens, wich you will perseue in thes last letter write to me, and this for the present in youre Ma<sup>ts</sup> of the 20 Apryle\* you thinke not unfit to be taken hould of; yeite I should never thinke of this if I thogte youre Ma<sup>ty</sup> could at this instante suppres them by a puerful way, wich if you shall fynd yuere selfs able for, youre Ma<sup>tie</sup> may expecte that I shall be reely upon the retourne of this beiere (whiche I expecte with all expedition) to do my paerte, wich will only be the stoping of ther tread, and burning of such of ther tounes as is upon the cost that we can cum at, and the necessitating of them to keipe greate forces on both seydes of the Forthe, bot this will continew no longer then my virtualles lastes, which consequnes apaes, becaues both seamen and officers liues upon them. Therfor youre Ma<sup>ty</sup> would be as kuicke as possiblie you can in acting whate you intend. Remitting some other particulares to the berere and houping you Ma<sup>tie</sup> will belieue that this wich I haue said prosedeth nather out of falset nor fiblenes, for rest assured whuatsoever

\* Burnet, 123, where the date is misprinted as the 10th.

1639, May 7. youre comandes be thay shall be put in executione, or at the least thus fare that your Ma<sup>tis</sup> selfe and the world shall sie that my part shall be as becummeth ane loyall and the humblest of youre subjectes.

From a bord the Renbou the 7 May at 12 at night befor Leith.

*Indorsed*:—Copie of a letter to his Ma<sup>tis</sup> the 7 May at night.

### 36. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.<sup>a</sup>

#### MOST SACRED SOVERAENE.

1639, May 14. Upon the 12 Sir James Hamilton arryued heire, it being the day befor the expayering of the 8 gevene in your Ma<sup>tis</sup> last proclamati-  
 one. I was redy to haue fallne upon some of ther tounes, wich I did not doupte bot to haue burnt tho they haue munted canone about most of them, bot the considerati-  
 one of youre Ma<sup>tie</sup> not being upon the borders joyned with the signifi-  
 catione of youre pleisure that I could forbeire all actes of hostility more then the stoping  
 of ther trade hath made me forbeere till that tyme, and till I heire  
 againe from you, for the wich end I haue dispatched this berere to res-  
 cu the signifi-  
 catione of youre Ma<sup>ties</sup> pleisure, and with all to assure youre Ma<sup>tie</sup> that I do not feire any  
 6000 Scot-  
 es (in this caus) that shall cume agaenst my 5000 Inglishe, for they haue  
 profited muche, and begine to handell ther armes weill, and I thanke  
 God is full of curage, and all of one haerte, wich they ar rady to a-  
 pose to all dangers for the advantage of your Ma<sup>ts</sup> servis, so far your  
 Ma<sup>tie</sup> neids not doupte but we shall do our paertes. As for my Lord of  
 Aboins' propositione I can say nothing positivly, he being not yet cum,  
 but for any thing I can yet cun-  
 cieue your Ma<sup>tie</sup> neids nather expect paertie nor assistans in this  
 cuntrie, but that wiche is ganed by force, nor dare I for any thing I yet  
 knoue adventure to send any of my men thithe

<sup>a</sup> Copy, not in Hamilton's hand.



I meine to Aberdine, for feere they may resauue ane affronte, bot 1639, May 14.  
 efter I reseue youre Ma<sup>tes</sup> cumands to fall to worke heire (wich I  
 wishe may be at the returne of this berere) I shall make ane end of  
 uhuat I can do in on fortnighte. I may perhapes therefore go  
 thither my selfe with most of the land forces, if I fynd anyposability  
 of doing good ther, leiwing behynd me most of the great shipes to  
 keipe them sturing in thir paertes. In the meine tyme I shall do  
 my best to be right informed of thos paertes, for the seruic that thos  
 other lords can do you wiche should come to me, I take it for  
 granted that it will proue just none, so I shall parte as sounne with  
 them as I can; for they will only serue to eate up my victualles,  
 wich consumes alrede (to my greife) to faste, for if my judgement  
 faelle me not, it will proue ere long a nationall quarrell, and pray  
 God that you haue alrede suffered to muche by some of them that  
 is aboute you. Seure I am of this, that the Couenanters heire  
 knoeth as muche both of the strenthe of youre Ma<sup>tes</sup> troupes and of  
 ther redines as any of youre oune army doeth, wich doeth a litill  
 increas ther insolensis. It will not be amis that youre Ma<sup>tie</sup> louke a  
 litille more naruly into it then hithertills you haue done, better it  
 waere for youre seruic that they waere declared Covenanters then to  
 lay in youre courte and betray you; and I pray God that some of  
 the English and evine thos of no meine kuality be as they oughte: I  
 do not wryte this to put jalusie in youre Ma<sup>tie</sup>, yett me thinkes it is  
 struenge that the Scotis Covenanters should directe ther letters and  
 supplicationes to be presented to you by English nobillmen. In my  
 opinione it wille not be amise for youre Ma<sup>tie</sup> to command thos  
 lords to returne this ansuere to the Couenanters that they deteste  
 and abhores them and ther wayes, and that all the assistans they  
 may expecte frome them is to the uttermost of ther puere to  
 indeuore to curbe the insolensis, this I am confident will do  
 good. Seure I am it is the lords paertes so to wryt. To conclud  
 my ansuere to youre Ma<sup>ties</sup> of the 10 I am of opinione that  
 nothing can be obtained from the people but by compulsione, so  
 that youre Ma<sup>tie</sup> most satt youreselfe roundly to it, and joyed



1639, May 14. at hart I am to fynd by Sir Henry Waene that your Mat<sup>tie</sup> intends to lay in the leguere,<sup>a</sup> and to make it your worke both to sae youre men treaned and to take the caere of the army youre selfe. This muche I dare promys, let me haue but victuales sent me in tyme and whuate the Deputie of Ierland will do in the West that euerie,<sup>b</sup> this in tyme will make them miserable; meines I neid non for all the Inglishes that ar with me for 3 monthes inte<sup>c</sup> cume, but suplis of victualls most be imediatly sent or eles we ar all undone, and youre deseyne in great hasard of ruine, for, belieue me, Sir, I speike it upon sertane knoledge, they ar fully as aprehensiue of this fleett as they ar of all the forces that ar with youre Mat<sup>tie</sup>, nay perhapes more, and I trust I shall be able as muche to vex them, pardon me if I say aguene—if you send me victualles. To youre Mat<sup>ties</sup> of the 8<sup>d</sup> I shall not truble you with a long ansuere having alredy tuched most of whate I intend to say at this tyme. That paper of Mr. Thomas Hamiltones seems both probabille and of no great difficultie to be practised to all suche as doeth not weill understand the present estate of this cuntrie, bot for the present we can do litille good that way as you Mat<sup>tie</sup> may perseu<sup>e</sup> by this papere; as for my landing of 5000 men upon Leuthiane syde, it is not to be adventured on other ways but by partis to burne and spoyle ther tounes. Dumbare of all plaesed<sup>f</sup> I lyke best, and confident I am ather to burne it or keipe it, when so ever youre Mat<sup>tie</sup> commands; it is altogether impossible to send any men to Sterling by water, and by land I am to weeke to marche. I heve reseved a letter from the Marquis of Douglas, wherin he expresses his sorrou that he can[not] put his house of Tantallon into youre Mat<sup>ties</sup> hands, the Couenanters having long sins possesed themselves of it.

Of such particulars as haeth beine proposed heire to me frome the Covenanters by way of traetie, I haue givine Sir Hanry Vaene ane acompte of, as lykwys this berer can particularly informe you, as

<sup>a</sup> *i. e.* Leaguer or camp.

<sup>b</sup> Something appears to be omitted.

<sup>c</sup> So it reads in my copy, with a "sic" to it, but it must be "next to come."

<sup>d</sup> Printed in *Burnet*, 122.

<sup>e</sup> *i. e.* perceive.

<sup>f</sup> Places

having beine ane clere witnes. They spoke in humbler termes then 1639, May 14.  
 ever, bot wither it be realitie or to guene tyme, I am not as yeit  
 able to judge; bot, if they make good whuat they feine to say they  
 will condescend to all sivill obediens, yet it is with this damnable  
 "but," that your Ma<sup>tie</sup> most condescend to the abolashing of bishops,  
 or at the leiste thus fare to heire in Parliament the just resones (as  
 they call them) whay they should not be in this kingdome.<sup>a</sup> Hou  
 I shall carie my selfe in this and in all other perticulars I expect  
 your Ma<sup>ties</sup> finall comands, for I greiue nou to be longer eydille sins  
 I am ready to giue testimony to the world to make good what haeth  
 beine undertakine by the humblest of your Ma<sup>ties</sup> servants.

[*Indorsed*: "Copie of a letter to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>, the 14 May, by Sir James Ham-  
 milt[on]."]

### 37. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.<sup>b</sup>

MOST SACRED SOUEREIN,

I haue giuen Mr. Tre[asurer] an accompt of all that hath hapened 1639, May 21.  
 hear since my last. I shall onlie add this to your Ma<sup>tie</sup>, that I  
 clearly see these people desier noe peace, nor will accept of anie  
 conditions unless it be the ratification of ther made<sup>c</sup> actes, made in  
 the late pretended Generall Assemblie.

Resolved they ar to force your Ma<sup>tie</sup> to a battle, being confident  
 that they ar much stronger in infantry, which hath made me to  
 propose whether you may not make use of 2 regiments that ar with  
 me. With the  $\frac{1}{3}$  I shalbe able to make almost as considerable a  
 diuersion as with them all, for we wilbe enough to land wher I see  
 aduantage to burne ther villages, and keep them in alarme, and the  
 3 is to weake to march into the cuntry now ther is noe hope of anie  
 partie.

<sup>a</sup> This is followed by the draft of proposed terms, printed in *Burnet*, 131. The  
 postscript, "I shall desire," &c., is in the hand of Hamilton, who has also written  
 "Remember Say and Brooke."

<sup>b</sup> Copy, in Hamilton's hand.

<sup>c</sup> *i. e.* "mad."

1639, May 21. As I hear, soe soan as the rebells comes near your sacred person, they intend to present a petition to the same effect which that was which was last sent to London, signed by Henderson, and in casse of your refusall, to procead in ther damnable designes against your person, army, and kingdom. Giue me leaue humbly to say that a present rencounter is to be shunned, for, whilst they ar in this madnes, I know not what the euent of a battle may proue. Sure I am by all proballitie they will not be able to continue longe together in soe great a bodie. All that is to be feared is that they may pass by your army, and so gett betwixt Newcastle and you, by which means they may cutt of your victuals; but yf your Ma<sup>tie</sup> be well strengthened with foot, and they disposed on passes, they will find great difficulty; but this is onlie conjecturall, therfore I will say noe more therof.

They find they ar not able long to subsist, and therfore takes this desperat course, for already they are pinched by stop of trade, and sees in fine they must be misserable. Now, hopinge in the weaknes of your Ma<sup>ties</sup> army, they intend to venture that which shortlie themselves acknowledges they must lose, and for ought I cann learne will either make themself a Common wealth or a conquered kingdom.

All I haue more to say is I expect your commandes by Sir James Hamilton, and if they be thatt I shall enter in hostilatie, I shall not be long a begining, for ther is no more hoope of treatie, sinc most of the Couenanter ar this day marched to Baruick, nor euer had I anie but to amuse them till you shoul be redy, which I pray God make your Ma<sup>ty</sup> woull abill to courb ther insolencies, wish is and shall be the dayly prayers of your humble seruant.

[*Indorsed*.:—Copie of my letter to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> of the 21 May.]

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38. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.<sup>a</sup>

MOST SACRED SOUERAIGNE,

Upon serious consideratione of the last dispatche<sup>b</sup> whiche this 1639, May 25. beerer broght, and of all which your Ma<sup>tie</sup> was pleased to communicate to him, and lykewayes of that whiche I was informed from shore, I hed<sup>c</sup> it not fit to fall on them till suche tyme as your Ma<sup>tie</sup> should be fast in your quarters, as knowing certainlie that they intended first to be litiome<sup>d</sup> your Ma<sup>tie</sup> befor they intended<sup>e</sup> they used other actes of hostilitie against your armie, if I did not begin heer. I have done my best to force them to leaue a considerable number of there men at Dunbarr, by sendinge some part of the fleet towards that place, wher then the armie was; indeed, I was forced to it lykewayse, for most of our beer being spent, necessitie droue me to send them to the Iland of May to see if they could gett any water their, for in Inshe Come, wher thes men wer, the springs, by reasone of the droght, ar all gone away. I lykwyse sent some of my boates up the riuer, for shippes of any burdeen can not goe but with a leadinge gaille, to giue the alarme their, as I daily doe in this part where I am; lykewyse some part of the fleet lying wheer it doeth hinders the men of Angus and the Meernes from cumming, fearing least we might fall on these pairtis. I haue reather chused to returne this beerer to your Ma<sup>tie</sup>, instructed with all such particulars as I knoe, then to doe it by paper, becaus he will be able to satisfie your Ma<sup>tie</sup> in diuers things, whiche I can not so well doe that uaye, as lykwyse that I may certenlie knoe how good your Ma<sup>tie</sup> will be fast in your tranches; and the verie day that you wold haue me

<sup>a</sup> Copy, not in Hamilton's hand.<sup>b</sup> Letter of May 17, in *Burnet*, 131.<sup>c</sup> ? "hold."<sup>d</sup> ? "to petition."<sup>e</sup> These two words were probably intended to be erased.



1639, May 25. beginn; so with my hartie prayers to God for your Mat<sup>ies</sup> happines,  
I rest

Your Mat<sup>ies</sup> most loyall subject and  
the humblest of your servants.

Leeth Roade, the 25<sup>th</sup> May, 1639.

[*Indorsed* :—Copie of my letter to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> of the 25 May.]

### 39. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.<sup>a</sup>

MOST SACRED SOUVERAINGE,

1639, May 26. Before the receipt of your Mat<sup>ies</sup> of the 22<sup>b</sup> (as your Mat<sup>ie</sup> will find by my last), I had shipped 2 regiments, and sent them to the Iland of May for the reasons therein mentioned. As I was goinge thither this day I received Sir Hen[ry] Vane's, wherein I am commanded to send 2 regiments imediatelie to the Holy Iland, which I haue down accordinglie, and I hope they wilbe quicklie ther.

Though I am confident your Mat<sup>ie</sup> doth neither take me for a traitor or a coward, yett giue me leaue humbly to say that I knowe ther wilbe those that will infirme<sup>c</sup> that my not entringe into greater acts of hostillitie then I haue down was a fault, and so labor to take that part of your Mat<sup>ies</sup> fauor from me which without any merrit of mine you haue bean graciously pleased to conferr; but when your Mat<sup>ie</sup> considers what you commanded, I writt, and what my reasons wear, I hope they shall not preuaile; and I take God to witnes that, of all the misfortunes that euer befell me, I accompt this the greatest, that I part with thease menn befor I had down that with them which I intended, but the fear I had of your Mat<sup>ies</sup> receauing an affront made me mention the sendinge them, though death would haue bean as welcome to me, and yf your Mat<sup>ie</sup> conceaue otherwise, I am of all menn most miserable.

And yet, Sir, I say with this one regiment that is left and your

<sup>a</sup> Copy, not in Hamilton's hand.

<sup>b</sup> Probably the letter printed without a date in *Burnet*, 136.

<sup>c</sup> Probably meant for "infer."

fleet, when soeuer you thinck fitt that I beginn, if I doe not my part, then lett me be hanged at my returne. This my dutie and allegiance tyes me to, and ouer and aboue that, soe porefully doe I hate this rebellious nation, as I had rather lose my liffe then not in my oune particuler be reuenged on them, which, yf your Ma<sup>tie</sup> cann be but able to keep your armeis in the beginninge but unafronted, I doubt not off. More I will not trouble your Ma<sup>tie</sup> with. Time will make appear the faithfulness of

Your Ma<sup>ties</sup>

Most loyall subject and humblest servant,

HAMILTON.

I find Inch Keith to be of farr greater importance than Inch Come, soe I am fortifieging it, and will haue menn sufficient to defend it.

From aboard the Rainbou, near the Iland of Maye,  
the 26 Maye, 1639, at 3 in the afternoon.

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#### 40. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.<sup>a</sup>

MOST SACRED SOUVERAIGN,

Every day may produce new counsells, and, if I alter in them, impute it not to fickelnes but to the reality of my intentions to your Ma<sup>ty</sup> service that write what I thinke. 1639, May 29.

Hearing for certaine that the Couenanters haue giuen obedience to your Ma<sup>ty</sup> last proclamation, and will not come within 10 miles of the Borders, ther is now no more doubt to bee made but that you will bee so fast in your leaguer that it will not bee in their power to doe the least affront to your army, so as my farther treatie in these partes where I am is to no ende, since that is effected which was laboured for, your Ma<sup>ty</sup> beinge in security.

<sup>a</sup> Copy, not in Hamilton's hand.

1639, May 29. So I conceive it will now bee time to speake other language then hitherto hath been doune, and they enjoined a totall obedience to your just commands. This will bee best putt in execution by your owne immediate directions, you being now so neare the Rebels; for if your pleasure shoulde bee sent to mee, the windes being uncertaine, and I more uncertaine how to putt them in execution (I meane if they bee commands of treatie), your service might receive prejudice by delay. And, to deale freely with your Ma<sup>ty</sup> (which I humbly desire your Ma: to pardon mee for expressing), I haue no desire at all to bee employed in treatie with these people for many reasons, amongst the which this is not one of the least that, as I heare, the Earle of Tarquaire<sup>a</sup> and Southesk are desirous to haue leaue to come to mee, which (whatsoever course your Ma<sup>ty</sup> shall bee pleased to take) I beseech you not to graunte, for the effects of their comming to mee will produce no greate good to your service, and prooue infinitely prejudiciall to mee, for so unhappy am I still that if by the faultes of others your service miscarrieth, the faulte is still laide on mee by those who I haue not deserued it from.

Notwithstanding of my auersenes of farther treatie I haue not refused as yet to admitt any that shall bee sente with their petitions, but this I onely doe till the returne of Sir James by whome I expect the signification of your Ma<sup>ts</sup> pleasure. In the interim if any desires of theirs be sente mee, my answers shall be such as your Ma<sup>ty</sup> shall bee no wayes engaged by them. I haue writen of some other particulars to Mr. Treasurer, so your Ma<sup>ty</sup> shall bee no more for the present troubled by

your Ma<sup>ts</sup>, &c.

29 Maye in the morninge.

[*Indorsed*:—Copie of a lettre to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> of the 27 Maye 1639, in the morninge.]

<sup>a</sup> *i. e.* Traquair.

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41. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.<sup>a</sup>

MOST SACRED SOUERAIGNE,

Efter the wrytinge of this other the Lo[rd] Oboyne<sup>b</sup> came heire, 1639, May 29. and delyuered me your Mat<sup>ties</sup> of the 13.<sup>c</sup> I inquyred for his proposi-tiones, he told me he had none, but that he expected men and moneyes from me, whiche if I wold supply him with, he hoiped to doe your Ma<sup>tie</sup> seruice. Your Ma<sup>tie</sup> knowes howe many men is left me, and the command you haue laid on me not to ingadge you in further expence of moneyes, so as my answer could onlie be good words, for more I could not doe; and not to counseel my thoghts from your Ma<sup>tie</sup>, I doe not see any great seruice that he can doe you in those pairtis, consideringe the abilities of the young man. Howso-euer necessitee enforces me to send him Northe, for he is onlie come provydet with victuales for 14 dayes, and there ar 4 of those spent heir. He is not to be supplied, if upon<sup>d</sup> advertisement from here their is hoipes of any partye. There is no waye but for your Ma<sup>tie</sup> to send a considerable armie their of at least 5000 and moneyes to pay the lyke number of Scotcs whiche your Ma<sup>tie</sup> knoweth I haue not. Neither doe I see where victualles will be had upon a suddent for such a number of men; so upon the hole mater I haue little hoipes that muche good can be done in those pairtes for the present. As for the other nobill that is sent hither, all the good I find by them is more inconveniencie then I can express, for their is not any of them that will goe to there owne homes, but Tillibarne, and heir they doe nothing but repyne, but

<sup>a</sup> Copy, not in Hamilton's hand.

<sup>c</sup> Printed in *Burnet* 136.

<sup>b</sup> Lord Aboyne.

<sup>d</sup> Perhaps "unless."



1639, May 29. now their is no remeid, we doe the best we can to content such as remaines, whiche shall be as short whyle as possibille I can.

Thus with my harty prayers for your Mat<sup>ies</sup> happines &c.

The humblest of your<sup>ties</sup> Ma servants.

May the 29<sup>th</sup> at 12 at night,

[*Indorsed*:—Copie of a lettre to his Mat<sup>ie</sup> of the 29<sup>th</sup> May at 12 a clocke at night.]

#### 42. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.<sup>a</sup>

MOST SACRED SOVERAIGNE.

1639, May 31. This honest lo[rd] not findinge longer saiftie in his owne home stoule into the fleet in a small fisher boate. By him I find that their is some hoipes of a partie in the Northe; whidder I haue dispatched the Lo[rd] Oboyne, wherof I haue giuen particularlie Mr. Tresurer ane accompt. To your Mat<sup>tie</sup> I shall onlie add that I wishe the Lo[rd] Oboyne wes a litle more stayed. I haue laboured to perswade him to be advysed by Coronell Gun, which he hathe promised; the most whiche they conseaue they uill be able to doe is to saffe themselues from being ouerrun, till your Mat<sup>ie</sup> shall send succours to them; and to giue your Mat<sup>ie</sup> my opinione I conseaue it may be to good purpose, for I am muche encoraged by what I haue heard from this bearer, haueing neuer till this day spoke with one that came from the shore who I durst totally trust. I am of the same mynd I was, that I must goe thither my selfe with the number of men I mentioned which as I tak it was 5000, and with as mony armes more as you can spaire; 10 or 12000 punds will be sufficient to keep bothe them and all the Scotcs I shall interteane (with that I haue alreddie) for a reasonable tyme, and me thinkes now your Mat<sup>ie</sup> is secured in your legare so many men you may spare, with thoes I haue heir, as will make up that number, which if your Mat<sup>ie</sup> intend to doe, the sooner it be put in executione it

<sup>a</sup> Copy, not in Hamilton's hand.

will be better. I shall further propone if your Matie may not spair 1639, May 31.  
 2 troopes of horss, but how to pay them I know not, their enter-  
 teanement being so extreemlie great, but it is the same when they ar  
 with me as now being with your Matie, yet a greater soume could be  
 sent, if they come, which I humblie submit to your Maties owne  
 consideracion hoiping I shall doe resonable weall without them.  
 Thither I must goe myself, for certenlie I foresee that your partie  
 there (if anie can be made) will not long agree amongst themselues,  
 without ther be some bodie of authoritie amongst them; and heir I  
 can be weall spared, leving thes partes weall garded by some of  
 your Maties shippes, and the Island secured. I haue been nesessitate  
 a lytle to transgress your Maties commandes in puting you to sum  
 further charge, but it is not great, for I haue onlie giuen 500<sup>l</sup> to  
 Coronell Gun (whiche the Lo[rd] Oboyne knoweth not of) to be  
 laide out by him as he shall find occasions for the good of your  
 Maties service. I haue not heard from the Couenanters since my  
 last; though they said they wold send. I hope they will not be  
 long without disorders amongst themselues, so I trust the worke  
 will not be found of so great difficultie to reduce them to obedience  
 as was expected, for certanlie they are monie that repynes at the  
 daylie insolencies whiche is daylie committed by them in seuerall  
 partes of this most unhappie kingdome. As I wryte in my last, it  
 is tyme now for your Matie to speake lyke yourself, and to declare  
 the heads of them traitors, in case they giue not present obedience  
 to your Maties commands, whiche I wishe they may tho I expect it  
 not. Your Matie will be pleased to cause returne one answer to  
 thes particulars by this Catche, whiche hath order to attend for it,  
 and what further you think fitt to command.

You Matie most loyall  
 subject and humblest servant.

Leeth Road the 31<sup>st</sup> May, 1639.

[Indorsed:—Copie of a letter to his Ma<sup>tye</sup> of the 31 May 1639 in the morninge.]

43. THE EARLE OF TRAQUAIR TO THE MARQUIS OF  
HAMILTON.

PLEAS YOUR GRACE.

1639, July 11.

The noblemen and the uthers qhom his Ma<sup>ty</sup> commanded the Lord Loudane to requyr to repair to Berwick haue continowed y<sup>r</sup> journey untill Munday, and haue appoynted to meat all to-gider with suche utters of the number as convenientlie can be hade agains Saterday nixt. Many conjectures are made of the sending for, and if the opinion of sume can haue place all of yem will not cum. They haue delayed redelyvering of ye ammonitione quiche was promised me upon Wednesday last untill Freyday, at quiche tym (if ather word or wryt may be trusted from them) all the canon sall be delyvered, and so muche of the ammonitione of Dalkythe as is resting indisponed upon, and the wants therof sall be suplied be the like quantitie of ther aine provisiones. I haue the rather condiscended, or at least seames content with this short delay, that we are informed they are ussing diligence for transporting of the canon quiche was at the camp, quhereof the most part of the cariages broke be the way, sume at Dumbar, and sume at Trenent, and are retearing the muskats from Monroes souldiers. Howsoevir as they keip to morrow your Grace sall be advatisyd. In the mean tym I haue given order for carieng of bisket, butter, cheas, and dry fishe to the Castle to that proporciane Ruthven thinkes meat. I haue likwayes given order for threttie tun more of bear; but the treuthe is he will get as litle of that kynd as Ed[inbu]r[gh] can without making of a publike breach. Ruthven is a verei honest man, and intendes reallie and faithfullie in his masters service, but sume things, in my opinion, are to be done befor ther be muche talke of the intencione, and too much shoue of busines giues unnecessare occasion of discours, if not of fear. I sall be with him to morrow in the Castle, and, if he will use my opinion, he sall not only free



himself of thos your Grace[']s letters (quiche came to me be Mr. 1639, July 11.  
 Alex[ande]r) mentiones, but of all thos he hes got out of or amongst  
 the prentises of Ed[inbu]r[gh]. It is condiscended quhat officers and  
 souldiers under his charge sall haue, and in my opinion it sall be lik-  
 wayes best that his Ma<sup>tie</sup> allow him a certane somme, ather the rents  
 of the Castle or quhat furdur his Ma<sup>tie</sup> thinks good for his aine inter-  
 tainment. This and sume more of this kynd must be resolved  
 upon againe my cumming to Berwik: and withall I wishe earnestly  
 that sume honest sober understanding man ware thought upon to  
 haue the immediat charge under him. Since Loudanes returne  
 they are making a shaw at least of discharging all Monroes  
 Regiment; I believe it is not without difficultie that they haue  
 keiped then so long togider, for money growes verie skarce. How-  
 soever efter the meating with me to morrow I shall be able to  
 resolve your Grace of the certaintie herof. If his Ma<sup>tie</sup> haue ane  
 intentione to a Guard, and that the same be put on fut against his  
 aune hom cumming, it will be highe tym that sume cours ware  
 taken therin; for your Grace may be assured it, and all of this kynd  
 will reseane all the underhand if not publik oppositione that may be.  
 Ruthven bides me advertische your Grace that he neades moe  
 Gunners; of thos quho ware at Aberdeen I haue keaped tuo of the  
 best for Dumbarton; quhiche is sume threi or four dayes agoe  
 delivered to the Dukes<sup>a</sup> servand, and as he wrytes to me he hes put  
 sume sixtein men therin alredie, suche as he dare trust, but they  
 haue left is evill provyded of victuals, but worse of ammonicione.

Ther is muche complaint made of sume protectiones laetely past  
 and I hear thos quho shall cum to Berwick will represent it as a  
 speciall greavance. Quhat troubles them must be compleaned of,  
 altho no uther menes sufferings can be so muche as taken notice of,  
 at least so fare as they can stop. Soe wishing you Grace much  
 happines I rest

Your Graces humblest servand

TRAQUAIRE.

Cannogat July 11.

<sup>a</sup> The Duke of Lennox.



44. THE EARL OF TRAQUAIR TO THE MARQUIS OF  
HAMILTON.

MAY IT PLEAS YOUR GRACE,

1639, July 12. I haue spent all this day with Balmerrino, and thos quho ware appoynted be ye rest of that number to end all compts with me; but as yet I haue made no conclusion, for I find so slow performance of redelyuering the canon and ammonitione quhiche was taken out of Dalkythe that if I find not a more reall performance ons to morrow in the afernoon I will leaue them and all untill I ons see his Ma<sup>tie</sup> agane; and your Grace may be assured that all the ammonicionne was in the shipes is shaffie in the Castle. The best part of the provision of victuals is ther alsoe, and the rest I hope sall be to morrow. He had, Ruthven I mean, (if the ——? hold then) sume threi scoir six muskets with him alreadie. I haue made a schift for sume fourtie quhiche I sall put in to him to morrow befor my parting; quhat more beis done be them your Grace sall best know be my self, but treulie I haue not mucche reason to exspect mucche qhen I consider in quhat disposicione this people continowes. They haue resolved that sume few of thos ware named in my Lord Loudanes warrand sall only cum to Berick upon Munday (for they will not trust so many at one tym). Monroes Regiment is still on foot, and the companies therof makes the severall musters in severall parts of this toune and near about the same. The toune of Ed[inbu]r[gh] for any thing I can learne does not so mucche as mak a schew of inquiryng for the authores and actors of the last tumult, all I can hear of them is that they are willing to giue me a whyt staf quhiche they wuld haue me beleieue to be the same was taken from my man, tho I told them, a six pence or shilling at most may buy one quhiche I can hardlie decerne from that quhiche I lost in that tumult; and thes followes quho invaded us with the swordes are

publiklie going upon the streates, but of this and muche more of this kynd that past betwixt one of ther number and me this day (qhom I forbear to name in writ) at meating. As yet the King's prouision of wyn nather yet his servandes ar cum. This has made me wryt to Mr. Treasurer that I could wishe the King's journey ware continowed<sup>a</sup> to Setterday the 20 of instant, but this and all of this kynd I remit to your Graces better consideration, and hoping to see you ons upon Sunday nixt, I remit all uther particulars to meating and still am

Your Graces humble servand

TRAQUAIRE.

Dalky the July 12.

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45. THE EARL OF TRAQUAIR TO THE MARQUIS OF  
HAMILTON.

I haue stayed all this day as of befor upon the redelyverie of the canon and ammunitione quhiche ware taken out of Dalkythe, but to as litle purpose as of before; for, not with standing that yesterday the Lord Balmirino concluded with me that this day all should be delivered, and to that effect appoynted with me to be heir be tou [?] houres in the afernoun; he nor none either of the number ather came or so muche as sent ther excuse, and all I hade for my so long attendance was, as I was going doune from the Castle the privat way sume weoman with plades about ther haides gaue me a freshe salutatione with ther tonges. Treulie I am ashamed to repeat ther wordes, but the best was, I was near the fieldes, and so was not in danger of any more harme from them as any of that Caball. It is quhispered that ther is sume jealousie amongst themselves, I mean the leading men of thes Covenanters; I can not evidence this, so clearlie as I wishe, but certanlie this meating quiche was appoynted heir this day is not keiped be any men of qualitie except Lothiane, Generall Leslie, and

<sup>a</sup> i. e. postponed.

1639, July 13. the Schireff of Tiviotdaill; many ware expected, but at seven in the clocke at night none ware cum to Ed[inbu]r[gh]. The resolutione of suche as haue bean heir this weake is that sume of thos quho ware written for sall cum, but untill they ons meat I doe not hear that yt is determined quho sall be the men, nather yet quhat sall be the instructiones. All the bear, butter, cheas, fishes and bisket that we intend to make use of, is brought from the shipes, and the best part of quhat was appoynted for the castle is put into it. I hope I sall furnishe him ouer the number of ane hunder muskets, with sume pykes, and for any thing I can perceau we are not to haue any present redelyverie of any thing from them, nather yet that they pretend to demolishe the fortificaciones of Leith untill the assemblie be past. I will not say the Castle is furnished as his Ma<sup>tie</sup> intendes, but in my opinion it is so weel as it may troubill the gud tounne, if they proue not gud subjects. Lat me therfor intreyt your Grace to resolve me be this bearer quhat I sall doe farder and quhither for making the brake appear the more clearlie, and that quhen they sall cum to be questioned heirupon they may not haue any escape upon wordes, I sall informe my self the best I can of ther intentiones in every thing, and if his Ma<sup>tie</sup> haue no other service to command me with heir, I will presentlie repair to Barwick; for I desyr to speak with your Grace befor his Ma<sup>tie</sup> beginne his journay, and in sume thinges quilkes I will not impart to paper. The Tresurer Deput's Commission from the Lords of the Session, in my opinion deserves no answer. The Kings Ma<sup>tie</sup> is not weel used, no not in that particulare, but this and all uther particulares I forbear untill I sall know his Ma<sup>ties</sup> pleasour, at quiche tym, if his M<sup>ei</sup> doe not command my stay heir, I will not only haest to Court, but will freilie and without fear of any lat my master know quhat I find in the convoy of busines, and in the mean tym I sall be doing heir quhat lyes in the powur of your Graces faithfull servand

July 13.

TRAQUAIRE.

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46. THE EARL OF TRAQUAIR TO THE MARQUIS OF  
HAMILTON.

PLEAS YOUR GRACE,

1639, July 15.

This day was appoynted to me againe, but the truthe is ther hes been suche doings amongst themselves that they haue not hade tym to think upon any appoyntment with me; for, since Satterday at nyght, ther hes bein great debait, first yf any sould cum up, and nixt quho sould cum, and this day it was ons like to haue drawen to a great hight; and it was resolved amongst the wastcuntrei gentilmen, if they could haue hade assistance of the toun of Ed[inbu]r[gh], quhiche they requyred in a verie publike and plaine way, to haue stopped Montrois his upcumming. Lothiane was in leik sort mightilie opposed, and ather my informatione is verie evill, or this message of sending for suche of them at this tym hes bred suche jealousyes amongst them, and fears with uthers, as the leik hes not yet bein sean since the beginning of ther busines. Trewlie, my Lord, I haue spent this day in doing my master the best service heirin I could; but, alas, haue no helpe for so gud a busines, and too the many quho professe fairest stay at Berwik, or, if they cum to the cuntrei, they keip themselves privat at home, and dois no gud nor schawes themselves nothing at all for our master; and I wishe sume of them doe not worse. Efter all was concluded be way of voiting yesternight, sume protested to haue made a stay of Montrois by force, and Loudane must stay. Quhat his aune letter does not informe your Grace of, I shall at meating. Be thes and suche leik passages, quhiche are not possible to be set doune in wryting, this day hes bein spent and taken up, except that I haue put in the last of our provisiones from the shipes, and haue gotten sume moe muskets of my aine to Ruthven. I hade order to ane James Murray for thes muskets they haue so oft promised, but treulie, in place of answering my warrants, he did so abuse my servand I sent to him,



1639, July 15. and so publiklie and baselie railed against myself, that altho I shall be content to pak up all that hes past, I will beg of my master that he may be cald to ane accompt for the same..

Sume of the Noblemen having hard of it, haue bein with me, and haue desyred me this night patience, and to morrow tymlie I sall haue the muskets and canón both. I am the rather moved to seam at least content heirwith, that thes they haue appoynted to cum up—to wit, Rothés, Montrois, Lothiane, Sir W<sup>m</sup> Douglas, Johne Edgar of Ed[inbu]r[gh], M. Archebald Johnstone—are not to part befor to-morrow in the morning. I sall goe to Leith to-morrow as they haue desyred, if they performe anent the delyverie of the canon, and the magistrats of Ed[inbu]r[gh] anent the fortificationes, I sall think my stay this night so muche the better bestowed. Howsoever I sall stryue, and I hope to be at Berwik soone efter, if not as soone as they; and I beleiue your Grace will not think it amise that I speak both with his Ma<sup>ty</sup> and with yourself before the King fall muche upon busines with them; but all particulares I remit to meeting.

I rest

Your grace's humble servant,

TRAQUAIRE.

Holyrud, July 15.

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47. THE EARL OF ROTHES TO MR. WILLIAM MURRAY.<sup>a</sup>

1639, Aug. AFFECTIONAT AND WORTHY FRINDE,

I beleueed my Lord Loudon, and those that came last to Barwick, should haue excused our necessitat stay, which, although they professe to haue done, yet haue I found that some blame staieth on mee, as not having fullie done my endeaour to come and bring along those other apointed by his Ma<sup>tie</sup>. Upon my honour I did omitt no meanes I could thinke to be conducible for obtaining obedience to that his Ma<sup>ties</sup> desire, and did neuer in my life dispute

<sup>a</sup> Copy.

1639, Aug.

more earnestly for any thing, so as there were few arguments used by any for our going but those I expressed. I hope you will make it knowne to his Mat<sup>tie</sup> that it was not my fault wee came not; as also cleare a mistake which my Lord Loudon told me his Mat<sup>tie</sup> had conceiued in that discourse I had with his Mat<sup>tie</sup> in priuate—to witt, that I expressed a resolucion to endeavour the overthrow of Episcopacie in England and Ireland so farre as I could, which truelie was farr from my thoughts, and the mistake hath arisen from a humble and heartie advise I proposed when his Mat<sup>tie</sup> told mee hee would haue all that could bee said for Episcopacie. I shewed that if his Mat<sup>tie</sup> would suffer it to be condemned by the constitutions of our Church, as wee had done at the Assemblie of Glasgow, it was not then prejudged in anie other kingdome; but if his Mat<sup>tie</sup> would make anie to plead for the expedience of that office as it stands in other kingdomes, then our people would bee forced to ripp upp all those evils and unwarrantable usurpacions practised by them either in England or Ireland, as they had done in Scotland, which would giue the greater offence to him, and discover so much helpe to begett hatred of that office through all his kingdomes. This I mocioned as a caveat that serued much for his Mat<sup>ties</sup> contentment. It is true that I wished his Mat<sup>tie</sup> might bee pleased that none were in anie of his dominions, but it was farre from my mind to expresse any entendement to endeavour against them as matters stood, or meddle any waies with them out of our own kingdome except they will meddle with us, in which case I know not how men may be tempted to retort; but I am no polemick to haue hand in such debates. I am also taxed for speaking with lesse respect to soueraigntie then I ought. God beare wittnesse to the true respect of my heart to authoritie, and of my particular regard to his Mat<sup>ties</sup> sacred person; but his Mat<sup>tie</sup> was put on to affront me, calling mee twice a liar and twice an equivocator. Those with whom I liue know me to be free of both, and none that haue suggested that, or will accuse me, shall be found to bee so free. The honestie of my heart to speake to my Prince that truth which was entrusted to mee by so manie of his

1639, Aug. faithful subjects, getting so hard construction made me to exceede, and would haue tempted any honest man; but I will not bee ashamed to begg his Ma<sup>tie</sup> pardon for anie rudenes of my cariage there, and humblie to beseech neuer to be so used againe. It hath begotten great griefe in my heart, which notwithstanding shall not make mee forbear both to pray for and performe my dutie with all faithfulness to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>. I cannot but heartily regrave that his Ma<sup>tie</sup> came not hither, for then should hee haue had the truth of many things discouered which hath long, and for anie thing I see will yet, lie concealed from him; and if his great affaires could not haue permitted his comming hither, the professing of that would haue made manie to haue come to Barwick, and the sending but for a few at once that could haue giuen his Ma<sup>tie</sup> best satisfaction might haue furnished him informacion, and eschewed that jealousie which the sending for many did begett. I will not taxe the resolucion anent the Assemblie, but I thinke the greatest and most respectfull persons fittest to present thinges in greatest affaires; and it is good pollicie to choose such whose persons are acceptable for furthering the businesse, if good be intended at this time. It seemed to stand both with pollicie and justice that the respect which the last Comissioner loosed in the beginning of this businesse, by his harsh dealing with this people, might haue beene recouered by carying and dispensing a message of peace and contentment. But, ceasing heere any more to regrave, I doe earnestlie beseech your endeavours for vindicating mee, who entreates you may manage my desires in your oune maner, and grace them with your more perfect and polished expressions, that they may haue the more readie accesse to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, whereby you shall very farre oblige

Your affectionate frind and servant,

ROTHES.

Edenb. August, 1639.

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## 48. THE EARL OF ROTHES TO MR. WILLIAM MURRAY.

SIR,

1639, Aug. 12.

If you please, and if his Mat<sup>tie</sup> haue leasure, you may read my other letter to him soe as from you selfe, for he hath, since our busines began, looked on some as triviall as this. I begg a true account, euen from your owne ingenious freedome, beside any ansuers comanded you. I cannot yet know how buisines will goe heire, for if there were appearance it would goe right I thinke the Marquisse should haue comed along himselfe. Wee are yet farre from taking the best courses for the King's seruice, and recovering his respects; if that was looked on, all would bee better. I begg your answere at the first occasion, and am

Your humble servant,

ROTHES.

Edenb. 12 Aug. 1639.

*Indorsed*:—Copie of the Earle of Rothes letter to William Murray.

## 49. LORD LINDSAY TO THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

MY MOST HONORABLE LORD,

1639, Aug. 16.

When I sawe by your L<sup>ps</sup> last letter that my Lord Theasurer was apoynted his Maj<sup>s</sup> Comissioner, I had smal hopes matters would come to any good pase, for I knew his being employed wold mak many diffident of any good, his hauing shoune himself so smal a friend to our busines and so earnest in that was commanded him by his Maj[esty]. Nether did his first entrie in this Comission giue us greater hopes, for he, by all the uyke and cuning wayes can be imagined, studied to make us pase from that ue haue doune; but, finding he by that cours was lyker to make a present rupture then obtaine any of his ends, he was pleased to deal and say quhat would be expected, and was earnest what we might stryve to abstein from these things that wold giue most offence. We haue shoune him that



1639, Aug. 16. covenant, and the acts of our last Assembly must be renewed in this; but that ue should be als tender of his Maj<sup>s</sup> honor, as he could ether expect or uise.<sup>a</sup> Your Lop. wil see by the act ue haue draune up that ue doe not so much as mention the Assembly of Glasgow (I know my Lord Comissioner wil send it to you); and in all our proceeding ue sal stryfe to hold of that quich might give his Maj: caus of offence. I hope you L<sup>p</sup> wilbe instant that his Maj. may giue his Comissioner command fully to setle all, and the Couenant with the rest; for when matters ar so neir a poynt, it war pitiful any difference should be; and I beleue my Lord Comissioner wil shew that difficultie has bein in getting matters broght to the pass they ar at, and that he hes not wanted the indeuors of sum of your best freinds among the rest.

Your Lordship's  
Most affectionatt and humble servantt,  
LINESAY.

Edinb: the 16 Agust, 1639.

[*Indorsed:* The Lord Linsay's lettre of the 16 of August; receaved the 19.]

### 50. THE EARL OF MONTROSE TO CHARLES I.<sup>b</sup>

1639, Dec. 26. MOST SACRED SOUVERAIGNE,

According to your M<sup>a</sup> commandements, which you were gratusly pleased to honor me wethall, and my aune bound deuty and inclination to your M<sup>a</sup> seruice, I was straight parting (although you M<sup>a</sup> pleasure was not so pressing) to heaue found you M<sup>a</sup> as you had commanded, which comming to be heir knouen, did so putt aloft the myndes of most part (being still filled with ther usuall and wonted jealousyes), that I could expect nothing bot more peremitory resolutions, nor is fit to trouble you M<sup>a</sup> withall, or me (in thinking to doe your M<sup>a</sup> seruice) to heaue occasioned; and knouing

<sup>a</sup> Wish.

<sup>b</sup> Printed in Napier's *Memoirs of Montrose*, i. 228.

your M<sup>as</sup> intention did still tend towardss the best satle and accomodation of all thir difficultyes in this your M<sup>as</sup> kingdome, according to your M<sup>a</sup> gracious goodenes and accustumat justice, I choysed rather before matters should heaue beane maide wors, and the gape enlarged be my means, to craue your M<sup>a</sup> humble pardone for my stay, and make you acquainted with the necessityes of it, hoping your M<sup>a</sup> will doe me the honor to think that this is no shift (for all of that kynd is to much contrary to my humour), cheifly in what your M<sup>a</sup> or your seruice is concerned in, bot that as I heaue euer beane bold to awow, there are nothing your M<sup>a</sup> shall be pleased toe command me in (peruiading my self they will be still such as befets and doe sute with all most incumbent deutytes), that I shall not thinke myself borne to perform.

Your M<sup>as</sup>

Most loyall and faithfull subjecte and seruant,

MONTROSE.

Edinb., 26 Dec<sup>br</sup>, 1639.

# 51. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.

[STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC.]

MOST SACRED SOVERAIGNE,

1641, Oct. 22.

I must confess I can not express the real sorrow I have for that clowd of your Ma<sup>ties</sup> displeasure which now hangs over me, occasioned by misfortune and the subtilty of my enymies, noe designe of myne in doing that which might prejudice your Ma<sup>ties</sup> service in the least degre. It ought to be the duty of all subjects, much more of a servant who hath had the honor soe neare to attend uppon your sacred person as I this manie yeares have had, to indeavor the removal of ther Sovereign's displeasure from them. This I hope will procure your Ma<sup>ties</sup> gracious pardon for my presuming againe thus to trouble you.

1641, Oct. 22. I am informed some have labored to give your Ma<sup>ty</sup> a bad impression of me, as if I had concealed from you that which was first discovered to me of this unfortunate businesse.

Be pleased Sir to give me leave humbly to offer this in answer to it. This information came to me from one who to my knowledge I had never seene, and he only a reporter therof from an other, as little known to me. I haveing formerly had reports of the like nature wher uith I did acquaint your Ma<sup>ty</sup> was loath againe to insist on this information without I had bine able to have made cleerer proufe therof then I had done in the former, nor indeed was my owne reason then satisfied, when I wayted on your Ma<sup>ty</sup> in the garden, that ther could have bine any such designe against me; yet in the generall I was bold to say, that I knew not when I should be soe happy as to attend on you Ma<sup>ty</sup> againe, and humbly did beseech you to believe, that whatsomever might happen, my cariage should still be such as became your faithfullst servant, resolving at that tyme that howsom so ever I had god farther information, immediately to acquaint your Ma<sup>ty</sup> therwith, but it was past tenn that night before I heard any more of the businesse, and being then in the towne at supper it would have bine rudnesse to have troubled your Ma<sup>ty</sup> at soe unseasonable an hower. The next morning the Earle of Arguile with my knowledge sent for M<sup>r</sup> Maule, to whom he gave a particular information of all we knew, desiring him to acquaint your Ma<sup>ty</sup> ther with. I held it not necessarie to trouble you with a repetition thereof in my letter, and most unfit for me to attend your person with such a companie of my friends as I could not possibly avoyd some whisperings being spread amongst them of a designe intended against me.

These were the grounds I went on, wherein if I have erred, let me humbly beseech your Ma<sup>ty</sup> neither to imput it to a reservednesse in me, nor a mistrust of you, but rather to the true reason my desir of a more assured information, before I should discover to your Ma<sup>ty</sup> the particulars of a business of that nature.

The next thing wherewith I heare I am taxed, is my going out of



toun without you Ma<sup>ties</sup> knowledge. Truly, Sir, I did not intend 1641, Oct. 22.  
 it, untill I heard in what manner your Ma<sup>ty</sup> was to be attended on to  
 the Parlment house, which was after dinner, and my L[or]d of  
 Argyll and I, finding the impossibility of perswading our friends to  
 leave us, feared it might have occasioned some interruption in your  
 Ma<sup>ties</sup> affairs and the publique peace, which we noe souner resolved on,  
 but we desird the Chancell[o]r<sup>a</sup> to acquaint your Ma<sup>ty</sup> therewith,  
 conceaving it to be the greatest act of respect we could then shew,  
 and that it is not soe understood by your Ma<sup>ty</sup> is a misfortune  
 beyond expression; had I thought therby to have incurr'd your  
 Ma<sup>ties</sup> displeasure or given occation to any to say, that I could have  
 bine soe basly unworthy as to have had the least mistrust of your  
 Ma<sup>ties</sup> knowing this intention against me, or that this, as I conceive,  
 dutyfull departure should either have bred a delay or interruption  
 in your Ma<sup>ties</sup> affairs, I should rather have dyed then done it. And  
 now if these reasons I have presumed to offer to your Ma<sup>ty</sup> be not  
 satisfactorie, let your goodnesse, I humbly beseech, pardon what  
 your Ma<sup>ty</sup> conceaveth hath bine done a miss, and be pleased to  
 esteeme of me as one who never had nor shall have thought, but  
 such as hath and shall tend to the good of your service, and setting  
 the peace of this kingdome with your Ma<sup>ties</sup> honor, wherein if you  
 shalbe pleased to make me soe happy as to command my service  
 therin, my actions shall make apeere to the world at how deere a  
 rate I would buy the effectuating therof and regaining your Ma<sup>ties</sup>  
 favor, without the which noe joy in this world can possesse the hart  
 of

Your Ma<sup>ties</sup> humblest servant and most  
 faithfull and loyall subject,

HAMILTON.

Keneill, y<sup>e</sup> 22 Oct.

<sup>a</sup> The Earl of Londoun.



1641, Oct. 23.

## 52. THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO CHARLES I.

[State Papers. Domestic.]

MOST SACRED SOVERAIGNE,

It is an exceeding greate greefe unto me that your Mat<sup>ties</sup> affaires suffers soe greate delayes through the interruption of this unhappie businesse which occasioned my removall from Court upon those grounds I have by my former letters humbly represented to your Mat<sup>y</sup>; but seeing the effects thereof have bine soe farr contrary to my intentions, I doe with all humility begg yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ties</sup> pardon for the same: nor am I able to expresse my reall trouble for that heavy aspersion I am informed is layed upon me, as if I could have admitted a thought of your Mat<sup>ties</sup> being privie to any such base act, which I heard was intended against me: a crime greater in me to have beleived then any else liveing, who hath had the honor and happinesse soe long to know your Mat<sup>y</sup>, and of whose goodnesse and favour I have had soe manie and reall testimonies, which att all tymes I shalbe ready to declare unto the world, and make apeere by my cariage that I shall ever prefeer the good of your Mat<sup>ties</sup> service before any thing that can concern

Your Mat<sup>ties</sup>

humblest servant and most faithfull  
and loyall subject,

HAMILTON.

Keneill, y<sup>e</sup> 23 of Oct. 1641.

## 53. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

1646, Aug. 8. MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

This enclosed is all wee haue had from Lauderdale, onely a priuate letter of Cheeselys to Balcarras sayes something it wants; that none of our friends will dare to speake one word in the House of Commons that may be wrested to a fauourable sense for the King, lest they be thought accessory to the refusall of the propositions,

and that indeed they are both discouraged and infinitely displeased; 1646, Aug. 8. that they talke already of sending Fairfax northwards, and that it is feared the three Lords will be presently impeached, and the authors of the remonstrance prosecuted. I read all this letter to the King except 2 or 3 lynes at the top of the last syde. Hee said nothing, but presently went to chesse and talkt as merrily as euer you saw him. All I shall need to adde more is that he that respects you more must haue more soule then

My Lord,

Your Graces humblest faithfullest seruant,

Newcastle, 8 Aug. 1646.

R. MORAY.

MY L.

Your brother afflicts himselfe beyond measure and our power to moderate, upon the newes that his ladye is adying, if not dead; you will see what Meldrum writes to my L. Crawford, and shew him these.

[Addressed:—For my Lord Duke of Hamilton his Grace Edinburgh.]

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#### 54. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

If you will be pleased to admit the importunity of two or three lines, they shall onely tell you that the master of a ship newly come from Holland reports that about Flamburgh Head he had occasion to goe aboard a Parliament ship under the command of one Cap. Bates, where he saw and spoke with M. de Montereul whom they had taken and meant to send to London. This is confirmed by others, and the Embassador is resolved to send an expresse to London, and thence to France, to know the truth of things and informe the Court. The Committee here I beleeeue will also desire those at London to ressent the violation of their passeport to the Houses, and rectify what they can. The expresse sent to France by the Embass[ador] from London is arriued. He hath told my Lord your brother and me seuerally that all his letters beare is a parti-

1646, Aug. 8. cular aduyce upon euey proposition, upon what termes, and how farre the King should graunt them, which in generall they thinke exceeding rude. Were there any thing more to say I would uenture yet to adde to your uexation, and I would thinke so frivolous matters utterly superfluous, if I had any better; yet I will presume acceptance, since you know the humble affection of

My Lord,

Your Graces humblest faithfullest seruant

R. MORAY.

Newcastle, 8 Aug. 1846.

[Addressed:—For the Lord Duke of Hamilton his Grace Edin.]

55. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

1646, Aug. 12. MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

You encourage me too much to importune you. I write, when I should rather be chid for it, as now all I haue to say is onely that the Em[bassador] sayes our Queen hath complained that he should haue said at London that there was no way left for the King but to signe the propositions. Is not this worth the troubling you withall? If you doe not forbid this liberty, I will complaine of your indulgency. I am glad you are pleased to assist at the meetings for publicke affaires. Good advyse was neuer so needfull. Unlesse I should wish to be unhappy your commaundes cannot be displeasing to

My Lord,

Your Graces humblest faithfullest seruant

Newcastle, 12 Aug. 1646.

R. MORAY.

56. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

1646, Aug. 20. MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Just as I was opening your letter, Mr. Linsay arryued from London. Lauderdales letter to you was so ill written that wee judged it impossible fo your to read, and therefore, after much adoe haue copied it as you sec, and kept the originall; besides wee meane to



show the King most of it, else we had sent you both. I haue 1646, Aug. 20. imparted it to the Embassador, who will this afternoone, as he sayes, presse the King to send yet his assent to the propositions. As hee hath neuer made right use of any opportunity, so I feare that this litle delay may furnish some new hope that a qualified answer, if it doe not satisfy all, may please a great many, and so continue deuisions, and keep things unsettled, and this at best will be the benefit that is reapt by those that haue faithfully laboured to keep his enemies from taking those violent courses that were intended; for I shall not belieue till I see it that hee will graunt all; and I am much neerer persuaded then before, that hee will giue way to Religion. It shall be told him how hopelesse his condition will be, if our army were once gone home, and how lykely it is that the kingdomes will agree. This is all I need say now; but I shall say and doe what else you commaund

My Lord,

Your Graces humblest faithfullest seruant

R. MORAY.

57. THE EARL OF LANERICK AND SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO  
THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

1646, Aug. 24.

You must suffer my approbation of your expressions in that which you wrote to my L. your brother that I may not need an excuse. The uery thought you haue of the Kings unhandsome reseruednesse were both your brothers and myne, though neither of us thought you so litle sensible as to need our aggrauation of it. Hee hath not yet resolued the way of his expostulating of it with the King, but will let you know it when hee does it. Yesterday the King sent an expresse to his concealed Embassador, to bid him let nobody beleue that hee would euer graunt the propositions; to represent him fairely as to the peace of Ireland, which Ormond hath certainly concluded upon his first order before the countermaund could come to his hands, and that, by it, the Scots and his other



1646, Aug. 24. Brittish subjects are protected, and so it is usefull to all: to shew that hee cares not for longer time to giue a positue answere to the propositions, as being moued at first to desire it for the satisfaction of others rather then his owne; and to stryue by all possible meanes to procure an admission of his coming to London, and to know upon what termes it may be graunted, and offers to come though it were to be under some honourable restraint. Hee enjoynes also that our army may not returne before resolution be taken concerning his personne. You shall not now be importuned with a commentary upon any part of this. It is all but matter of affliction, and wee would rather diuert you from your solitary resolutions then confirme them by sad discourses. For your own soule wisheth you not more happinesse then wee doe

Your brother  
and your faithfull

LANERICK  
R. MORAY.

New C. 24 Aug. 1646.

[Addressed:—To my Lord Duke of Hamilton his Grace]

58. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

1646, Aug. 28. MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

M. Damahoy parted this morning betimes; he had but one letter from us all, and that onely tells the Kings firmnesse in his resolution concerning the propositions, and that Lauderdale's friends here are not of a minde he be the personne that be sent hether by the Commissioners at London, though it may [be] you are of another opinion. Your brother writes to you what hath past about the secret, and you shall haue more of it when I see you. All the hope that rests is upon Montereul's returne, and how small that is you know as well as

My Lord,

Your Graces humblest truest seruant

Newcastle, 28 Aug. 1646.

R. MORAY.

At London they expect some good more then they haue cause from my cosen's coming; which is laboured there and wisht here.

59. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.<sup>a</sup>

My Lord,

Newcastle, 28 Aug. 1646. 1646, Aug. 28.

You may possiblie think it strang that I haue giuen you no account concerning your letter anent the second message and the persons entrusted therewith. I confesse befor I gott your letter I had the same resentment you had, bot resolued to be sylent, for I fynd who is most trusted is most in danger, and for all that, I doubt much if in anie fauour; yett after the receat of your letter I resolued to make use of it to fynd out the grownds of the mistrust which I found to haue bein occasioned thus:— After the motion was made (though in ane other maner) by you, and for manie reasons (which were offered me) rejected, it was of newe pressed by those there that it might be in a message a parte, and entrusted to them, but not to be made use except they should see no other possible meanes of preuenting a present rupture, and the extremitie of desperat resolutions; this, after much argueing, was at last condiscended unto, provydeing that it should not be made use of untill the worst of euills should force them to it and lykewyse that they should see it wold take, besydes that they should engage ther honors that it should not be reueilled to anie liueing untill it were made use of. As to the first, they easiely agreed, bot wold by no meanes oblidge themselues to secreasie, unlesse that he should lykewyse oblidge himselfe to discouere it to non that were about him, who were not upon that Councell. He confesses he pressently imagined that that desyre proceeded from their distrust of you and me, and, lookeing upon it as a particulare wherin we were no wyse particularly concerned, not haueing occasion to be wher that seruice was to be managed, he was content to engage himselfe to the lyke secrecie, and the rather that he was confident our affections to his seruice wold not suffer us to misunderstand it. Had he refused it, he had absolutely disoblidged them, and hindered them from engageing at all in his preseruation, which considering the employment and trust they

<sup>a</sup> Copy. The address, "My Lord," is unusual, but the style at the end is "Your Grace." The internal evidence is conclusive that it was written to the Duke.

1646, Aug. 28. haue, they may be verie instrumentall in. Manie pressing arguments for clearing this mistake was urged with much earnestnes, which trewly gave me full satisfaction, as I am confident at meeting to giue your Lo[rds]hip].

Four and twentie houres befor I knewe anie thing of the resolutions in Scotland of sending anie hither againe in the name of that Kingdome to presse his Ma<sup>tie</sup> to assent to the propositions, he told me that he was informed it was intended, and that your Lo[rds]hip] was one of those that were to be employed, which trewely was absolutely newe to me. He told me howe much he was troubled with your engaging in such a busines, which wold be so exceedingly to his disservice, and which ye knewe no hope nor danger could euer make him grant; for by Scotland's pressing him to this impossibilitie he wold be necessitated to disoblidge those he was most desyrous to oblidge, besyds the truble it brought him that you should engage yourselfe in anie thing that looked lyke prejudice to him, which though his affection to you might make him digest, yett your enemies (which he fownd you had euer in a strange number in euerie place) wold take great aduantage of it. Therfor I was desyred to wreat to you, first to preuent the thing itselfe, if possible, next that you might not engage your selfe in it, for you may alreddie knowe what wilbe the successe of that journey. All this passed befor I knewe anie thing of the busines but what he told me, who it seames hath better intelligence then I haue had; bot nowe since, by the letters with the pacquett and Johne Dalmahoy, I find the busines is alreddie so farre aduanced it wilbe impossible to preuent it, and I should be unwilling nowe you are named that you should disengage yourselfe of it, or refuse anie employment your countrie at this tyme shall lay upon you: therfor I sall represent the necessitie of it the best way I can, and expect you heir according to your appoyntment. In the meanetyme if anie thing of importence occure you sall be acquainted with it, for after so long and foolishly tedious a letter as this is, neuer chalenge of lasines, though you may justly of much impertinacy

Your Grace's seruant



## 60. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

1646, Aug. 29.

Your brother sayes all I know, yet I shall adde a word to his. Lauderdale writes nothing but that the Committee of Parliament findes our army to be in the Parliament's debt, and that Mr. Moray was to start yesterday to come hether. Cheesely says the Independents intend not to demaund the King, being cooled by a new apprehension that Ireland and wee may joyne. Commentaries upon this and other discourses shall be fullier told then they can be written by,

My Lord,

Your Graces humblest faithfull seruant,

R. MORAY.

Newcastle, 29 Aug. 1646.

[*Addressed*:—For my Lord Duke of Hamilton His Grace.]61. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.<sup>a</sup>

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

1646, Sept. 19.

All my commentary upon Lauderdale's letter is that Essex death makes our friends cheaper; remember what I said to this purpose at parting, and you may see by this step the King hath made, how unsatisfactory soeuer, hee may yet goe a greater length. My cosen writes to your brother what regards the letter the King would haue him send to London to our friends, hee argues strongly against it. I coppied it off the originali written by the King's owne hand, which my cosen intends to keep if he cannot get him to offer more. I feare the extreame haste that presseth makes my write scarcely legible. The Embassador hath seen it, and is to debate with the King before my cosen the reasons why he should condescend to all, or at least giue full satisfaction in these 5 points, and the other of the Great Seale; but hee will not goe to the utmost till Montereul come, and then he will be told that hee and his wife and children will be so much the lesse considered when he is unkingd; that euerybody is conuincd

<sup>a</sup> The Duke had been with the King and had left him dissatisfied.—*Burnet*, 285. 290.



1646, Sept. 19. it is now in his power to conserue his Crowne. No letter speakes so particularly as Lauderdale's; others say as their exactest intelligence that the King must at least giue satisfaction in the most materiall points of the propositions, and hopes of graunting all the rest at his coming to London. All agree in the heauy losse our friends haue made in Essex death, and truely it is no mean one to the King, though as yet he be nothing at all sensible of it. If our Commissioners presse that resolutions be taken concerning the King before our army retire, it will certainly breed inconueniences. The King will urge it may be done, and perhaps would not dislyke the consequences as to the jealousies it will probably produce. Letters to France and London, and the drawing of that whereof the copy is sent yow, have so fully taken up the King these 4 or 5 dayes that my cosen hath not yet got him to resolute to write to you, whereof my next shall giue a better account.

The letter intended for our friends at London will be sent, one to Lauderdale, another to Argyle, upon Monday, till when, euery minute will be employed to get it rectified and enlarged. Tomorrow at the King's desire Mr. Blaise is to be with him after the sermons to dispute about Episcopacy. Let me beg the K[ing's] letter may be imparted to Balmerino and Balcarras, and as much of this as you think fitting. Forgiue at once all the faults of,

My Lord,

Your Grace's humblest faithfullest seruant,

Saturday night, Newcastle, 19 Sept. 1646.

R. MORAY.

Just as I was closing this letter the King sent for his, and expressly forbad to send the copy of it to you till Monday. The Ambassador was then with us, and thinkes to enlarge the point of Religion. My cosen suspects he repents [?] upon something written from London. You shall haue more on Monday. Howsoever, the packet staves till this be ended. He had said more in the Militia then formerly, and more in shew but lesse in effect in Religion. Forgiue omissions.

[*Addressed*].—For My Lord Duke of Hamilton, his Grace.

## 62. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

1646, Sept. 21.

On Saturday after the expresse was parted wee learnt the occasion of the recalling of the copy of the letter then ready to be sent. It was the receipt of some letters from the Independant party that beare great offers, as his will in Religion (that is moderated Episcopacy) when the Scots are gone to passe delinquents, and waue Ireland till King and Parliament be agreed; this is most sure. I will descant nothing upon it, onely with much adoe leaue is obtained to send you the copy I mentioned in my last. Wee have aduertised Lauderdale of all, and sent him another copy of the letter by the expresse that is just now parting. No newes yet of Montereul. My cosen hath warned the King that the Independants' offers are snares. Mr. Blaise conferres with him to-morrow. What further occurses you shall have from,

My Lord,

Your Grace's humblest truest seruant,

R. MORAY.

Newcastle, 21 Sep<sup>r</sup>, 1646.

## 63. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

1646, Sept. 25.

After I had written to your brother the onely letter I thought to haue sent by this occasion, the King gaue me the enclosed <sup>a</sup> to send to you within myne, which made me stop the packett till I had done. This other under my hand is almost as much the King's as that whereof I sent the copy on Monday last. Euery word of it is written by his knowledge, and most of it by his instruction, especially the arguments that are such as without his command I would haue been loath to write, though no eye hath seen them but his, besides myne owne. When I shewd him yesternight the instruc-

<sup>a</sup> Evidently the one printed in *Burnet*, 290, under the date of Sept. 26. No doubt Sept. 25 is right.

1646, Sept. 25. tions in his bedchamber, hee said (as I write to your brother) they were verry well and better then he expected, and said nothing of the subject of them, but that when our army goes home hee shall either goe with it, or he shall be thrust backe by head and shoulders. I replyed nothing in contradiction of this, but said, as my other beares, that your affection was to be seen in them, whereupon hee told me all that had passed between you and him at parting, so as it seemed he meant not to misse a word, and what he said that night about your brother. Hee said he had used arguments to the verry sense I write, to dissuade you from going beyond sea, and that you press him so hard, that against his owne sense he was forced to say what he did, though hee had no kinde of lyking of your intencion; and he thought you might haue taken it ill if he had flatly refused what you demanded. Then he told me he would write to you, and in his letter not forget himselfe, though he should be verry well satisfied with your stay, whether he had anew inscribed it or not, and said he had heard you tooke exceptions at his usage of you, but he was not conscious to himselfe to haue giuen you any cause. I said I had neuer observed in you any such thing. I could trouble you with more of this discourse, but it is needlesse; from these touches you can conjecture the straine of the rest. I did not think hee should haue written so soone. The report of the new vote of turning the Propositions into Bills moues him not at all. My cosen hath been these two dayes at Durham, and is not yet returned. I lyke not your retreate, and will not forbear to dissuade it, and I shall still with occasions importune you till you breake silence were it onely to forbid,

My Lord,

Your Grace's your humblest truest seruant,

R. MORAY.

This Saturday 25 Sep. at 5 o'clock.

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64. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.<sup>a</sup>

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

1646, Sept. 25.

Yesternight I acquainted His Majesty with the instructions and some part of your letter. His M[ajesty] was not unsatisfied to finde them sent. I will not craue your pardon for representing in the frame of them a reall euidence of the firmness of your affection to his seruice. His M[ajesty] was graciously pleased to giue me leaue to beg hee might obserue it, and expressed somewhat concerning your intention to leaue him in this conjuncture of affaires with a ressentment that discouered the constancy of his Royal kyndnesse. I represented this to haue flowed from a deep and passionate sense of his peculiar fauours which wrought so much upon your spirit beyond all other things that were deare or pleasing to you, that finding his M[ajesty] not resolved to doe that which onely can reestablish him in his throne, and yourselfe utterly disabled to haue a hand in the preuention of his undoing, you could not but rather choose to be in the most abject condition in some unknowne place then an uselesse witnesse of that in his dominions. In end His M[ajesty] was pleased to commaund me to put you in mynde of the inconuenience your obstinacy in that resolution would heape upon you, and mentioned them with a friendlinesse that related not to his owne concernements. Indeed they are such as the uery apprehension of them can not but deeply wound a soule so great as yours. They are briefly these:—The withdrawing of yourselfe at this tyme will be beleued to proceed from a tacite joy at the appearance of the bad successe of his affaires, or rather out of a designe to contribute to it under the disguise of a seeming retirednesse and discontent, constructions which are not possible for him to make, but obuious to maleuolent humors; that although you should not be suspected to be any wayes accessory to disloyall courses, it will be said that you were one of those could best haue hindered them; that your country

<sup>a</sup> Doubtless an inclosure in the last, and written before it.



1646, Sept. 25. and friends might say you have deserted them in their greatest exigencies; and that differences may be reconciled between his M[ajesty] and his subjects by the endeavours of others. There needs no more apology. His M[ajesty] intends to write a line or two with his owne hand to diuert your resolution. All your friends will be joyed with it, but none of your seruants so much as,

My Lord,

Your Grace's humblest faithfull seruant,

R. MORAY.

65. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

1646, Oct. 17. MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

What your brother writes I need not touch, onely I will say something of my cosen's voyage. He carried nothing with him, and you haue the copy of what was sent after him; but I belecue he hath some greater latitude giuen him in some things by particular instructions, which neither he knew at parting nor, for anything I know, the King hath as yet imparted to any, but I think I may confidently say there is nothing toward the authorizing the Couenant, nor any one article of the propositions of consequence granted as it stands, and I think Irland is not neere so much stood upon. My cosen's journey can be of no further use than to haue got some litle things under the King's hand more then he hath hitherto granted, and to let the King know yet by new assurance that hee is not to expect that lesse can serue then what is now desired, and that his ruine is more certaine and imminent then hee apprehended it hetherto; and to this litle purpose hath the King's commands put his necke to a new hazard. I have spent all my gall upon your brother for his stay, notwithstanding your excusing him.<sup>a</sup> This is

<sup>a</sup> In margin: "Yett trust me not so much as I deserue. L[anerick]."

in haste, and what is now omitted or occurs more worth your know- 1646, Oct. 17.  
ledge you shall haue from,

My Lord,  
Your Grace's humblest truest seruant,  
R. MORAY.

Newcastle, 17 Oct. 1646.

[*Addressed*:—For My Lord Duke of Hamilton His Grace Hamilton.]

66. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

1646, Oct. 24.

The stories that haue been made of your brother doe indeed deserue a deep ressentment, but hee must not take any such course as just cholere would prompt any man of heart withall; for besides a world of inconueniences that would produce, I believe, if these aspersions were traced to their sources it should be found a contemptible one. The effects of them are the lesse to be ualued, that the King is sufficiently persuaded of the untrueth of them, and your brother's entire affection. You rightly apprehended it would set him on fire. My calming remonstrances haue not been wanting, and I thinke I dare say hee is much pacified, and I beleeeve the King be very sensible that you and your brother both were the cheife instruments of any moderate resolution hath been taken at the meetings at home; and hee is so well uersed in the humor of the times he must judge that no meane seruice. Your brother will giue you an account of the conference the King had with the noblemen Thursday last, and for what purpose he hath called them just now, while I write together againe. I can obserue no other designe he hath then to come home with the army; but this may haue others in it that you can apprehend untold. On Thursday he wrote a letter to Mr. Moray; but for any thing I know hath imparted what was in it to nobody here, neither hath hee as yet said more of the instructions hee sent him before then that he had giuen him some

1646, Oct. 24. latitude in every thing more then was in the paper your brother sent you, except in Religion. See how fatallly he stickes to his principles.

The packet brings nothing worth the writing, at least that I haue seen as yet. All Lauderdale writes is that Mr. Moray is at London; but hath no hopes any thing hee brings can giue satisfaction, and referres what he can say more to the expresse that is now by the way, but by this time I feare you haue reason to chide the importunity of

My Lord your Graces

Your humblest truest seruant

R. MORAY.

Newcastle, 24 Oct. 1646.

67. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

1646, Nov. 9. MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

All we haue from London is that Massie's Horse are disbanded and Fairfax hath giuen order to his to march Northward. Small appearance of the 200,000 lib, and as litle of any money for the subsistance of our army. Those in the Houses wee use to call our friends begin to looke to themselues; and if there be any rightly affected in the City, they know not which of the two parties to trust. The King asked whether there were any new vote concerning him.

Dunfermling and Mr. Moray will be here within two dayes. You shall haue what they bring. It seems the Houses will not say any thing touching the King at all; and that they will not receaue him upon no termes. Remember this. From Holland it is written the Prince of Denmarke is dead, and from France that the King of Spaines onely sonne is also dead, as you may see by this copie of the letter the King wrote within an houre after he died; and in Polland the states will know what their King may doe and what



not. Neuer such universall change of scenes in the world, where 1646, Nou. 4.  
 every thing alters that is not as immortall as the affection of

My Lord,

Your Grace's humblest true seruant,

R. MORAY.

Wednesday, 4th Nou. 1646.

[*Addressed* :—For my Lord Duke of Hamilton his Grace.]

68. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

1646, Nov. 8.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

This place hath afforded nothing new since my last. Onely yesternight E. Dunfermling and Mr. Moray came both hether; it was late and they wearied, and so haue as yet had no conference with the King, the rather because all the spare minutes of this day he hath employed in his French dispatches. I cannot yet giue you a particular account of what they haue to say, to morrow I think I shall know, and so shall you with the first, in general our friends and London talke still of the Couenant. The expresse (a man of L. Humbies) who parted from London on Monday is still by the way, and this packet hath brought me nothing from Lauderdale. The poste is presently to part and I will onely adde that your last is made good use of by

My Lord,

Your Grace's humblest faithfulest seruant,

R. MORAY.

Newcastle, 8 Nou. 1646.

[*Addressed* :—For my Lord Duke of Hamilton, his Grace. Ed.]

69. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

1646, Nov. 12.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

After the King had read what you sent me, hee commaunded me to tell you as from him that hee would haue you by all meanes

1646, Nov. 12. possible hinder the sending of new commissioners to him, and that he would giue no other answer then hee did before. Besides this hee said nothing; neither did I proceed in my designe to haue a litle enlarged what you represent, because this expression did anticipate all I could say, except a word of your carriage in what concerneth him. Last time I spoke to him of the adjournement of the Parliament; he said it was indifferent to him, and his language of the Couenant holds still in the old straine.

Wee have heard as well as you of commissioners to come from London to you, but nobody knowes the certainty of it, and I am not apt to believe it till I have first heard that the House of Commons is content the King be disposed of by the joint resolution of both kingdomes; but if it comes to passe, you shall want nothing can be said from hence.

This much in answeare to yours, but I am not yet able to giue you that distinct account of things that my last gaue you cause to expect in this. My next I thinke shall not be two dayes behinde this, and shall be charged with a full narration of what I can gather from all hands, and shall not want something of observation and perhaps a litle more aduyce then I uentured upon before.

And now you must not thinke that I end all my letters without once mentioning thankes and what else I owe you, out of neglect. I euite to speake of what I cannot pay by words; but you see I doe not shunne to receiue uast augmentations of debt, because I knowe no better way to tell you that, if I had not preuented your bounty by giuing you myselfe, you would long ago haue ouerbought and assured to yourselfe another way.

My Lord,

Your Grace's humblest surest seruant,

R. MORAY.

12 Nou. 1646. Midnight.

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## 70. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON. 1646, Nov. 14.

Newe[astle] 14 Nou. 1646.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Since my last I had occasion to put the King in mynde of the care you haue of what concernes his seruice, and receaued from him a commaund to let you know that he is extremely well satisfied with it, whereof you may be pleased to take notice when any considerable occurrences inuite you to write to him.

To performe the promises of my last two I shall first tell you that the King is resolu'd to send once more a message to the Parliament of England, but haue not heard that hee will doe the same to you at home. Neither is it obuius to me what were fitting to doe in it, and it is worth your aduyce. All that Mr. Moray had from him to make use of at London had no considerable difference at all from the paper your brother sent you upon his last coming hether; nor is it to be expected that this new message shall have any materiall change, but the expressions will not be the same and it will not be clog'd with such prefaces and other litle reasons and unnecessary enlargements as that other paper had. I can not guess at the particulars, but assoone as I haue them you shall haue them; nay it may be hee will not thinke fitt to send you a copy of what hee sends, to which he shall be sollicitd, but I expect to heare something of your opinion before it be sent. Onely I may say that there will be no mention made of the Couenant, nor of the abolition of bishops, and if hee be any thing fuller in the positiue establishment of Presbyterian gouernment, I doe not beleeeue it will be much.

There is not now so much cause of wonder that hee should, against the struggling of euery soule here that speake English to him, sticke to the resolution of sending a message on such terms as there was heretofore. By dyuers unsuspected wayes he gets Independant language spoken to him; and whatsoeuer be their designe in it, they haue let him know that hee may satisfy England with litle of Religion, and without the Couenant. This hath a double



1646, Nov. 14. advantage towards the preuailing with him ; one is, it is knowne to be their tenent ; the other, it suites exceedingly with his intentions ; and if you will let me say a litle of my owne reflections, I will offer a few probable arguments for the successfullnesse of such a message which, if they convince not, will perhaps be worth at least the taking into your consideration there, as you goe along in the determination of the affaires that concerne both kingdomes. I shall doe it breifely, and begin with two aphorismes I thinke you will not contrauert.

One is that the most zealous of those that meddle in State matters in London lookes at something else more intentiuely then Religion ; the other, that no Englishman will euer in his heart hold it a necessary condition of the peace of England that Scotland must be satisfied with it, farre leese that it be of the Scots framing.

A strong objection may be made that, before the King can be restored, the Independants must be converted to a compliyanse with monarchy. I confesse I shall be one of the last that belieue them to be reall preselytes, but I thinke not their conuersion impossible ; for, although I doe almost judge Monarchy to be inconsistent with the principles of their way of Religion, yet I know no reason why I should thinke any English interested more wedded unchangeably to any opinions in Religion, especially such as are not essentiall to it, or at least thought so ; and thus interest, passion, malice, or some such other motive that useth to master flesh and blood, may stifle the most uigorous of their zeales in most things of Religion, and thus you may haue all the Independants conuerted. But I shall be content to say onely that the leaders of them that professe to be of their opinion, rather to make themselues considerable and to worke out other projects then because they are so indeed, when they finde these wishes throwne in their lap, will be apt enough to turne their sailes another way ; and if they see themselues ready to be inuested with the whole power of the State and King's persone by offices and changes, I pray you what want they of their desires, unlesse it be the ruine of our poore nation, and I will not spend one word to

say how probable and easy that will be, if hee onely satisfy them, 1646, Nov. 14. to one that knowes it better then I can euer hope to doe.

Another argument of their conuersion may be the small appearance they see of the destruction of Monarchy. They haue found the Scotts language to be altogether different from it by many conferences, papers, declarations, &c. They belieue many in England are still for it, and, how litle trueth soeuer be in it, they entertaine a strong apprehension that the Scotts and French thinke of uniting their powers to preserue it. But it may be that they are so wise as to feele the pulse of the French, and then they shall see Scotland to stand verry single.

This farre of their reall conuersion. Now I shall adde one reason or two more why they may indeed endeaour the King's returne to London under the plausible pretence of a firme settlement, though they were not turned in their head from their 7 years first resolution of casting off the King and Monarchy. They may propose to them selues that their neereness to him will giue them opportunity to sift and scan all his actions, and that they shall be able to maintaine their credit in the House, and such meanes to keep their army on foote after ours is gone; and then if they finde the least opportunity it will be more easier for them to dispose of his personne than euer; and againe, in this case what a losse Scotland is at I leaue you to consider.

I shall not need to say much of the other possibility that their mindes may be still fixed not to haue the King on no termes, for this may beare it to, and you know it hath been their ordinary tricke to amuse him that hee may not doe what may be satisfactory till our army be gone, and then they haue their declarations ready upon a case; but I will not trace out the consequence of this, nor vexe you more with this discourse which, if it furnish you not with thoughts enough immediately, may kindle waightier ones of your owne in you, and for as neere I am to the bottome of this side, I thinke there is roome enough for all the aduyce I shall dare to offer more then is alredy said and may be gathered from this

1646, Nov. 14. tedious letter by youre owne inference; yet I shall reserue them to a postscript and tell you that the number of those wee called friends growes dayly lesse. Particulars I doubt are written to you from London, and the King deferres the drawing of his message till hee gett the answere of Dauenant's letters which he hath just now got, but will not be suddainely decyphered. You will be better able to guesse then I whence the King hath the myndes of the Independants when I haue assured you [they] apply themselues violently to those of the King's party; and now I haue neither roome nor words to tell you how much I am

My Lord,

Your Grace's humble true seruant,

R. MORAY.

1646, Nov. 15. Postscript.<sup>a</sup>—The other was wrett yesternight in hope the packet should haue comed, but it came not till this morning about 7. The aduyce remaines; it shall be short. Anticipate not the Parliament of England in resolutions concerning you know whom; and if it be by any meanes possible and consistent with Religion and the publicke good, waue the imposing of the Couenant by a law. For the first part I need alledge no reasons anew; and for the other, I shall onely say that let the last letters bring from France what they will (and it is not yet knowne) if euer there was in that breast any resolution utterly unalterable, it is that of never approouing (that is imposing) the Couenant. It may be an approbation of what is past may be had, and all things else upon assurance this shall not be prest.

Now all is performed. I should haue sent you Lauderdale's letter if I had not intended, as necessary, to shew it first to the King; but you shall haue it with the next, which may be tomorrow, and what else I shall learne between this and then; onely one word of it which I reade without my cipher is that the Independants are about to adjourne the Houses, one of the wickedds peecees they can possibly act.

<sup>a</sup> On a separate sheet.



The list of the burroughs that are upon the great committee is 1646, Nov. 15. imperfect, the King bid me tell you so. Besides your brother let none but those you are confident of see my letter, as Balcarras, &c.

I require you not to write a booke in answer to myne. I shall, when you allow me, let the King know if you trouble him not with particular letters it is because you know I shew him what I get. Commaund in this and in euery thing else

Your Grace's truest seruant.

To bid you burne all were to thinke it worth the paines.

[*Addressed*:—For my Lord Duke of Hamilton his Grace. Edinburgh.]

71. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON. 1646, Nov. 17.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

All I haue learned of the letters from France mentioned in my last is that they are not those that the King expects in answeerr of what Will Dauenant carried, and that they are so long that yesternight late they were not neere decyphered, so that the intended message will not be dispatcht this weeke.

The Embassador hath obliged me to trouble you more then usuall at this time upon a motion he hath made to me by order from the Cardinal; it is that if I can send ouer eight or nyne hundred men suddainely to my regiment, it should be put into Dunkirke, there to remaine in garrison. I will not comment upon it in relation to the State, but leaue it to you, nor would I haue you say any thing in it because of my concernement, that may by any meanes be inconsistent with the good of the publicke. Onely for the Embassador's satisfaction I shall beg your opinion in it, without which I will not so much as giue the proposition a fauourable entertainment how much soeuer it may seeme to tend to my aduantage. If the Army were to disband I durst speake another language; but I thinke men are not to be expected here till then, and at home leuye can not be suddainely made, and if this be not

1646, Nov. 17. performed speedily the thoughts of putting my Regiment in that place will be changed. If you thinke it fitting to haue the mind of any of your friends, impart it to no more then you are sure will keep this motion secret; for, though it were thought fitt to graunt me this fauour, it is not conuenient to do it publickely. Under that consideration I communicate it to none besides my Lords Argyle and Balmerino: and now you see there is no kynde of liberty wanting in me; but if that be a fault, impute it to your owne kyndnesse that inuites it, and not to any petulancy in

My Lord,

Your Grace's humblest faithfullest seruant,

R. MORAY.

Newcastle, 17 Nou. 1646. 12 o'clock.

[*Addressed:*—For my Lord Duke of Hamilton his Grace.]

1646, Nov. 21.      72. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

The King knowes what you wrote the 17, and is uery sensible of the continuance of your respect to his seruice.

Little can be said from hence without repetition. When I know your opinion of the King's sending to you there a double of the message he intends for London, I shall make use of it. How-euer, you shall have at least asmuch as I. The P. of Orange hath sent hether a ship of 34 gunnes to doe what the King commands. I belieue it was intended to carry somebody to France to informe why euery thing is not done that is desired there, which being done by W. Dauenant will now perhaps be no more stood on. Shee staves here under pretence of being carined, but will be ready, as I take it, at all times for the King's pleasure. You see what Lauderdale writes. I know not whether the Queenes last letters mentions the Couenant or not, but the King concales it, and is more sullen than before. Carlile's letter sayes nothing but that the Parliament of England is to be adjourned, and that it is of the

most dangerous consequence of any designe hath yet been broached. 1646, Nov. 21.  
The King thinks it will not come to passe, and does not care  
though it did. I comment not.

By my care to tell you such things as these you may judge how  
gladly I would impart things of waightier and more pleasing con-  
sequence. But you use not to chide,

My Lord,

Your Grace's humblest reallest seruant,

R. MORAY.

21 Non. 1646. 10 at night.

[Addressed:—For my Lord Duke of Hamilton his Grace. Edinburg.]

73. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON. 1646, Nov. 24.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

The King hath seen yours of the 21 that speakes of publicke  
affaires, but said nothing though I gaue him faire occasion, and the  
subject of the letter deserued some discourse: but I beleue what  
hee said not to mee he hath to this bearer. Though it be but  
small comfort to see such a desperate distance between his resolu-  
tion not to allow the Couenant and the necessity of doing it or  
being undone (if at least the help of Scotland be absolutely neces-  
sary for his standing), yet there is some kinde of satisfaction in  
seeing cleerely what is to be expected on either hand; but I cannot  
obserue that hee is a whit moued with the knowledge of the  
necessity of the Couenant to satisfy Scotland, nor with the succe-  
esse of the other things that you struggle to auert or temper, but as  
this bearer, I doubt not, did faithfully performe the charge you  
laid on him, so hee can giue you a narrower account of things then  
I. It may be hee can tell if the gentleman that parted this day for  
London carried any thing with him. His journey hath been more  
suddain than I expected. I saw him not to day and haue not as  
yet lighted upon any way to learne what I might perhaps haue got  
from himselfe if I had seen him.



1646, Nov. 24. I know not how the King takes the stop of Robin Leslyes journey, but I suspect it hath been told him in a language wee doe not usually speake, that it is no small affront.

You are already armed for my abstaining from giuing you thanks. They can not pay the interest of my debt, and your fauours are not lent upon use but to make a purchase, and at this rate you may forbear till either I grow or they make me something more, for you have already bought all I am. The aduyce you giue me in the billet hath hindered me from shewing your letter to the Embassadour, for although indeed the requyring of the performance of the conditions of my capitulation bee one of things in the world of greatest aduantage both for the regiment and for me, yet if I should offer at that, as things stand, it might be mightily mistaken and turne to some kinde of prejudice to the publicke as well as to our particulars; and would certainly be so understood as should leave me no more roome of entertaining the motion I spoke of, which indeed is an aduyce I meane to follow: neither will I in this craue pardon, because all my resolutions are alterable as you shall thinke fitting.

Two or three dayes agoe my cozen was talking of a journey to Scotland, whateuer else he may bring with him I am sure his owne affaires requyre it; but hee is not yet returned from Durham, neither am I confident of the continuance of that intention, if it can be shifted.

It were now a monstrous impudence to haue wearied you with so long and dull a letter, and say nothing of pardon; and yet I will not aske it because I am so used to get it unsought that I make account of it as my inheritance; and if, after all this insolence, you be liberall still, I shall be forced to auou that your vertue is aboue all the temptations of,

My Lord,

Your Grace's humblest truest seruant,

R. MORAY.

Tuesday, 24 Nou. 11 at night.

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74. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON. 1646, Nov. 28.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Since my last I haue learnt that the gentleman it mentioned carried nothing from hence in writing; but I belieue he had a verball commission, to say somewhat of the message that is to be sent, to whom I cannot say, and I thinke you can guesse better then I. All you say and all I can adde of the importance of the letter is desined should be sent from the Parliament there to that of England, for anything I can obserue serues<sup>a</sup> not one serious thought of it from the King; but this is not new to you. Neither doe I perceauce that (the uery paroxysme of his affaires) the returne of the army which is here weighs much with him, whereby you may judge how he ualues what becomes of the forces here.

I haue imparted to the King your opinion of sending the double of his message to you there. It is most certainly necessary; and I thinke he intends to doe it, but I haue as yet had no discourse with him upon it. I haue seen the draught of it, and should tell you all the particulars of it now that I remember, if the packett did not stay till I haue done; but I shall first demaund a copy of it to send you, and if that be not graunted, shall by the next occasion send you all I remember of it. This shall tell you onely that all it sayes for the tolleration of tender consciences is that it shall be such as is consistent with the word of God, and that it doeth not mention the Couenant.

What my last said I suspected to haue been spoke to the King I haue since found to haue been without just cause.

If I had so much time as to write downe the decyphering of Lauderdale's letter, which I read *par coeur*, I would send it to you. Hee sayes there is 80,000 lib. come in already of the 200,000, and that Thursday last was appointed to treat with them of the day of this armies march; that there is great noyce at London of the Kings treating with the Independants, that D<sup>r</sup> Fraser is come from

<sup>a</sup> *Sic.*

1646, Nov. 28. France, and sayes fine things from the Queen of her affection to our countrymen. My cosen is sicke at Durham, and Dunfermling is recouering of his cold, and will part on the beginning of the next weeke for Scotland, if he can. I haue runne my glasse to the last minute, so that I must abruptly say I am,

My Lord,

Your Grace's humblest bound seruant,

R. MORAY.

28 Nou: 11 at night.

1646, Dec. 2. 75. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

It shall be needlesse for me to say any more of the contents of the Kings message then I did in my last, seing hee hath since told me that he is [not] yet resolved to send it to the Parliament there, though I haue represented it as necessary, and spoken of meanes to preuent any inconuenience he apprehends might ensue. I desired to know if hee could yet desyne the time that he would send it to London; hee said, Not. This was on Saterdag, but it may be hee shall haue upper thoughts when he hath decyphered a great packitt that he receued since. Hee deliuered mee a letter from Dauenant all in cypher, but written upon a wrong one, so that I can not decypher so much as one word of it, which is indeed a uery unlucky accident. Hee is in paine how to get his message sent and deliuered. I haue told him that if it carried not satisfaction to his friends, the bearer would finde no protection in London. I told him of Hudson's escape, and that hee brought propositions to him from the Independants with intention to cosen them, and all the story of his escape, which I repeate not to you, presuming you know it. This is all now, only I would faine know if it be not the language of an incendiary to aske whether the P[arliament] of E[ngland] hath not broken most of the cheife points of the Couenant, and whether it



be to be expected that Scotland shall euer reape any benefit by their brethrens observing of it: and this shall suffice from, 1646, Dec. 2.

My Lord,

Your Grace's humblest seruant,

2 Decemb. 1646.

R. MORAY.

76. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

1646, Dec. 4.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Till within this halfe houre I could not haue the opportunity to shew the King your last. The Embassador came in before he had read it, and so I had no conference with him; but I thinke it was the lesse needful, because this noble bearer came well instructed. All I would have asket, besides what your letter gaue me ground to speake of, was When he meant to send his message to London and publikely to the Parliament of Scotland, which I beleeeve will not bee till you returne the answere of what he now sends. I doe not think he doubts of your opinion of it, but I am sure hee meanes this as kyndnesse.

All my obseruation upon the fumes that furnish you worke shall be shutt up in the byword, You drinke as you brew.

It is consonant both to æquity and piety that the Church be satisfied with acknowledgement of a fault; but I rather commend then prescribe.

Your naturall quicknesse there hath now get another spurre besides the exigence of affaires and the condition of things at home. The 200,000 lib. is all told 3 dayes agoe. You are too apprehensive of the consequences to need any thing I can prognosticate, and know my reasons as well as my judgement, but I find here the old tranquillity of spirit.

I shall not runne backe upon what I said of the Independants' conuersion. You understand the arguments and know the motiues. Upon a triple enquiry I thinke I may be confident enough to say

1646, Dec. 4. there hath been no particular treaty with them, and you will see in the frame of this message none other ground of satisfaction to their desires then the ommission of the Couenant; though our friends of all kindes at London haue been hotely alarmed with the noise of a treaty; but it will be needlesse to say anything of what comes from thence, because you have it already. Onely if any of our friends haue defected, it is either the act of their enemies or their owne feares that preuailes.

All I can say more of the manner of carriage and deliury of the message to London are but conjectures, for what is resolued on now may be altered ere it be sent; but I shall say all I learne when I see it fixedly resolued; and now, hauing no more to adde it is more then time to say I am,

My Lord,

Your Grace's humblest true seruant,

R. MORAY.

Fryday 4 Dec. 3 in the afternoon.

1646, Dec. 10. 77. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

When I was set to say something in answere to that your noble cosen brought me, another of the same date came to my hands that bids me expect a third within a day or two more. This I shall onely call a high way of obliging, and then tell you that the King said as litle after the reading of this as of others; but I beleeeue the small appearance he findes that his message will be satisfactory to you there hath much stumbled his resolution of sending it to London; so that I assure you this night when he was askt what he would doe in it, hee said hee would bethinke himselfe whether hee would send it or not, but neither what he hath from you all, nor any thing else is said to him here, can moue him to alter praefacing and litle amplifications, nor make him leaue out his expressions of Episcopacy, and the old channel of the militia, nor say anything of G[reat] Seale, much lesse bring him to the absolute settling of

Presb[byterian] gouvernement, and least of all the imposing of the 1646, Dec. 10  
Coudenant. But it will be no new thing to you to haue it told you  
that he will neuer be brought to the last, follow what will.

Your cosen hath spoken to the King faithfully and freely, as I  
beleue he will tell you. The Emb[assador] sayes he doeth not  
meddle to aduise sending of the message or not, but still presses  
the full graunt of Religion. Nobody here can learne what com-  
merce is between them, but there appeares too much bussinesse to  
doe nothing.

To tell you all that passes in the discourses I haue with the  
Emb[assador] were an endlesse vexation. One thing I will trouble  
you with that he told me yesternight. Hee said that for certaine  
the plenipotentiaries at Munster for France, Spaine, and Hollande,  
haue all agreed to joine in assisting the King till he be restored to  
his throne. I smiled at it, and spent much language to shew how  
litle reason I conceaued wee had to beleue it, but I thinke it  
needlesse to say any thing to you as a commentary upon it. Hee  
talkes much and often of his returne to France, because he findes  
himselfe uselesse here. But I haue runne too farre on these things  
in stead of a more pleasing theame. Yet since this place affords  
onely such you will not chide,

My Lord,

Your Grace's humblest, truest seruant,

10 Dec. 11 at night.

R. MORAY.

Let me adde that when the King saw I could not decyfer a  
letter hee deliuered me from Dauenant, because it is written by  
a wrong cypher, hee told me that the Queen had said to him that  
shee had bid Dauenant write to me for obtaining a passport, or  
rather a protection for my L. German or Culpepper with some  
diuynes to come hither either to satisfy the King or get satisfac-  
tion from him concerning his opinions, and he enjoyned me to  
aduertise you there of it, and to desire it may be done, or know  
your answer. I said enough of the difficulty of the one and  
unreasonablenesse of the other, and haue aduertised Dauenant of



1646, Dec. 10. his mistake, and the posture of affaires, so farre as concernes the King's intended message, and the returne of our army afford me somewhat to say in this businesse of the passeport, whereof I haue also writt to my L. Argyle.

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1646, Dec. 12. 78. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

To say nothing at all after the receipt of yours by James Hamilton were a cryme that I will not be guilty of, and yet I can say but exceeding little worth the writing, onely to my certaine knowledge the King is not as yet resolu'd whether to send his message to London or not ; though I did not thinke when I wrote last by Sir J. Livingston that he should haue been so long of resolu'ing. Your letter came so late I have not had an opportunity to shew it the King this night, but I will to-morrow. The King hath heard of the particular appointment of the payment of the 200,000 lib. and the march of our Army with his wonted unmou'd-nesse. If I should say more I would be forced to repeate, but I can not tell you how much you have made me,

My Lord,

Your Grace's true seruant,

R. MORAY.

12 Dec<sup>r</sup> 12 at night.

[*Addressed* :—For my Lord Duke of Hamilton His Grace, Ed.]

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1646, Dec. 15. 79. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

This noble gentleman is to renew a motion I made to you not long agoe concerning the recruiting of the Scots' Regiments in France. Hee will doe it in his masters name. It is an argument so singular, and that ought to preuaile for so many considerable respects to the publicke, that priuate kindnesse nor concernement of

your seruante neede not be alleged to strengthen it. You were  
 pleased of your owne accord to make an ouerture of demanding  
 high aduantages for the Regiment that I commaund before any new  
 leuyes for the recruiting of it shall be graunted. I shall humbly  
 beg that may not now be stood upon; and doe assure you that the  
 doing of it as a testimony of the constant affection our nation  
 beares to the Crowne of France shall bring me as much particular  
 joy as the aduantage which in this or any other way can flow from  
 your fauour to,

My Lord,  
 Your Grace's humblest faithfull seruant,  
 R. MORAY.

15 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1646.

80. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON. 1646, Dec. 16.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Two dayes agoe the Embassador told me hee would send Mons<sup>r</sup>  
 de Montereul to Scotland for solliciting of recrutes according to  
 order from France. I represented my opinion of the succeſſe, and  
 offered either to ſaue his labour or to accompany him. This was  
 not admitted, and I, knowing none other reason of his journey,  
 diſſuaded it as handsomely as I could; but the journey is reſolued,  
 and neither hath my coſen learnt from his maſter, nor I from any  
 of them, what elſe may be his errand. Yet I beleue there is more  
 in it, and muſt tell you what my conjecture is, that hee will per-  
 haps ſpeake of ſome new and more plauſible offer of Religion  
 then the King hitherto made, but nothing of the Couenant; and  
 will perhaps talke of the grounds of the King's coming to your  
 army. I muſt now tell you another conjecture what ſhould be the  
 meaning of this ſending to you there, which flows from the Kings  
 forbearing ſo long to ſend any meſſage to London. Perhaps it is  
 reſolued to ſend none at all; and that hereafter the ill conſe-  
 quences of that may not be imputed to the King, theſe things are  
 ſent to you ther of purpoſe, knowing you will neuer approve of

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1646, Dec. 16. them; which may be published as the reason why they were not sent to London. All this I say in short because I know you understand. This two dayes the King hath been so very bussie in decyphering his French letters that no body hath had the opportunity to talke to him, so that I cannot tell when or what message he will send; nor shall you haue any further importunity for the present from,

My Lord,

Your Grace's humblest true seruant,

R. MORAY.

Wensd. 16 Dec. 6 at night.

1646, Dec. 17. 81. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

The King said nothing to me when, after the reading of your last, I askt his commands, but that I should desire you to continue the paines you take in imparting the results of what was referred on Tuesday to the Committee, and that hee had written to London himselfe. Though the Embassador hath as yet told me nothing more of Montereuls errand then that hee hath letters from the King (because I haue not seen him these two dayes but in the street where he told me that), yet I thinke hee will say more to mee; but I am resolued rather *de passer pour duppe* than enquire. I shall onely now adde that I doe not see how our army can returne till resolution be taken concerning the King, without strange consequences; nor how it can stay, since the march and conditions is agreed on. But this is your worke to unriddle as it is myne to offer you my ejaculations, and doe what you command,

My Lord,

Your Grace's humblest truest seruant,

R. MORAY.

Fryd. 17 Decr, 2 afternoon.

My last parted not till yesternight.



## 82. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

1646, Dec. 19.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

When Mr. Cole came hether I was out of the way, and hee was gone before I could come to him ; yet I had the letter hee brought, but haue nothing to adde to that I wrote yesterday and the other two dayes before. Onely I doe not perceaue than any thing come from thence doeth more moue here then if it were desired, though indeede there be more reason then euer. It is written to the Emb[assador] from the Court of France, and those that are nearest about our Queen [say] that in the last letters she hath done her utmost to haue satisfaction giuen to the Scots. But whether that be or not, expect not the Couenant. Neither doe I thinke you hope that the commissioners who are to come shall haue a better answere then those haue been here already: and for his Ma<sup>ties</sup> being in Scotland, you can not thinke the ill (*sic*) hee is not resolued withall. Let this suffice now, and when I haue any thing else you may looke for more trouble from,

My Lord,

Your Grace's humblest truest seruant,

R. MORAY.

Saterd. 19 Dec<sup>r</sup>, 10 at night.

## 83. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

1646, Dec. 23.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Now of a suddaine the King hath sent to London the double of what I beleue this bearer brings. I could not handsomely get from him what it is, but I dare promise it is not satisfactory to any soule alyue. All he told me when I askt what I might say to London was that I needed say nothing, for he had sent his message by this expresse, and when I had said that, ere he could be there the two Lords would be come away, hee answered that therefore hee

1646, Dec. 23. had addrest his packet to the other commissioners in their absence, whom I beleue he doeth not acquaint with the tenor of his message. I need adde no more to what this bearer can say, but that I am,

My Lord,  
Your Grace's humblest true seruant,  
R. MORAY.

23 Decr, midnight.

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1646, Dec. 27. 84. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

To your last of 23 you cannot expect I should say much, and from hence I finde nothing now to write; onely I heare that yesternight an order from thence made the guards about the King be strictlyer posed then they haue been hetherto. I know not if anything of this kynde will preuaile more with him then former endeaours, but indeed I see no cause to hope it; nor have I any light what the sending of the last message meanes; but my sense cannot admitt a fancy that euer any body imagined it could please. Howeuer you see it is nothing of that which was expected, and I know not what new conjectures to make. Sure I am nobody hath so litle judgement as to think it will be applauded there. I abstain from all passionate expressions of the temper and pace of affaires among you, as much to be free of giuing you addition of grieffe, as to seem satisfied with what I cannot help. Nor will I runne backe to my former apprehensions of what is come to passe, far lesse offer any more to say what were fitt to be done; but I must auow I am bemisted, and leaue the sequele of all these intricacies to the conduct of that Prouidence that onely knowes how they shall be unriddled. Friends at London are not satisfied with the comeing away of all our noble commissioners, neither indeed am I cleare in it. From thence it is written that there is much talke of great designes in France, and that Montereul being there begets new

jealousies, but I thinke I need not trouble you with what is writt 1646, Dec. 27.  
 from thence, because you haue it fully from the fountaines, onely  
 one thing they talke of which is so exceedingly distant from what I  
 learne from him that should not be ignorant of it, that I cannot  
 get myself brought to ualue it, that is a discourse that a friend of  
 yours would not be unwelcome in France. If I should let myselfe  
 runne on in this way of discourse I should hardly finde an end in  
 one sheet, and therefore shall here cutt off this importunity.

My Lord,

Your Grace's humblest faithfullest seruant,

R. MORAY.

27 Dec<sup>r</sup>.

85. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON. 1646, Dec. 29.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

What my last said onely to your understanding the enclosed  
 speakes more plainely. It is written from London to those that  
 commaund here, that the Houses recommend most earnestly the look-  
 ing to the King's personne, and indeed the guardes are now much  
 more stricter then before. The votes of the Houses doe astonish as  
 litle as former prophecies.

You may easily imagine how willingly I would expostulate what  
 is done among you, but I will conceale that passion that is uselesse  
 to be uented, neither will I uenture upon discussing of things that  
 are beyond my spehare. Onely I may say one word of my regrait  
 that I see not the end of miseries. Though I doe not at euery occa-  
 sion torment you with a particular narration of every discourse that  
 passeth here, yet I assure you that as often as anything can be  
 reasonably or handsomely said to moue the King to what is desired,  
 nothing is forgot.

It vexes me to importune you so frequently with things that  
 either are of litle moment or displeasing; but I finde shelter in your  
 allowance. The night that Montereul came hither after 8 a clocke,



1646, Dec. 29. the Capt<sup>ne</sup> of the Guarde conueyed him to the King's chamber, and stayed halfe an houre to waite on him backe againe. I know no more of what past then, but I finde since, there is a designe of declaring upon what grounds the King came to this army, to what purpose I doe not know. I cannot tell if there be any such thought as that something may be said on that subject which may occasion a breach between the nations, but I thinke that the euent may produce a prejudice of another nature. I am sure the King shall get nothing by it. He debated with me the strange boldnesse of a declaration hath been made among you that the army knew nothing of his coming. I onely argued a difference between knowing a thing and hearing tell of it, when it was not beleewed. But thus I steale into the fault that I accused myselfe for just now, and therefore shall adde no more guiltinesse then you are used to pardon in,

My Lord,  
Your Grace's humblest true seruant,  
R. MORAY.

29 Decr, 9 at night.

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1646, Dec. 31. 86. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Any thing I can say of what is to be expected from hence hath been so often repeated and is so well knowne to you that I am euen weary of importuning you with it, so that I shall haue but litle to say in answer to yours of 29, but that I am extremely afflicted with your indisposition, and that your mynde should be any wayes out of temper, though I must confesse it may be thought a crime not to be moued with the condition of affaires; yet those who are most eminent in the managing of difficult matters should be the last in being disturbed. Admitt of this point to excite that uertue which I know will not easily succumbe to the hardest tryalls

when it employes its utmost strength. The Ambassador intends to part towards London on Saturday, where he sayes hee is to stay 12 or 14 dayes till hee heare from France. I know not what it means, if it be not for some such purpose as I toucht in my last; but I am sure hee shewes a high displeasure at the proceedings where you are; and nothing keeps me from a high expostulation of somethinge but that I am sure you know all I would say better then myselfe. What all shall draw to an end I confesse I see not, onely I shall summe up the things which distract me in these few heads. It is declared the King must not come to Scotland, and that hee shall be disposed on by joynt councel. Meantyme the money comes, and the Army is lyke to returne before the Parliament of England admitt Scotland to haue any voyce in the disposing of him in England, witnesse the vote of both Houses wherein your opinion hath not been askt. But all this may be spared to me who feeles euery touch of this with more resentment, if it be possible, than,

My Lord,  
Your Grace's humblest real seruant,

R. MORAY.

The last houre of 1646.

87. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON. 1647, Jan. 2.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Yesternight late there came a packett from Yorke to the Generall, shewing that the money was to be there to day, and desiring the commissaries might forthwith be sent to tell it; and I beleeeve Mr. Jhon Drummond is gone thether. There are six dayes allowed for telling of it, so that all things goe on fast, except the joint resolutions concerning the King. But I know your heart to be as much swelld with this subject as myne, and therefore I will still refraine to uexe you with expostulations and bad auguries. The

1647, Jan. 2. King hath no stomach to Homby on the termes the Houses haue voted it. It seems hee thinkes a Scots Guard the safest. Mr. Jh. Henderson hath a pretty epistle from Nehemiah Vane, it needs no sauce. I could say enough to trouble you, but because I know you haue affliction enough you shall haue now no more from,

My Lord,

Your Grace's humblest reallest seruant,

R. MORAY.

2 Jan.

1647, Jan. 9.

88. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

The litle matter this place affords that is not indeed subject of sadnesse makes me not so obseruant of euery occasion of writing as formerly; and I thinke you will allow me to be somewhat in disorder by the contemplation of the wofull condition of affaires. I haue much adoe to abstaine from expostulation of the proceedings amongst you, but when I remember how unjust it was to afflict you that consideration stops me. And now instead of a long letter I shall content myselfe to say in answer to your last by the ordinary that I cannot blame you for being more then ordinarily moued with the consequences that you cannot choose but forsee; and I must applaude your carriage and the grounds you went upon, but you are not master of the successe.

The commissioners have done [no] more as yet but deliuered their letter of trust; and I need as litle tell you what is to be expected from the King, as offers to anticipate in a judgment of what new arguments may produce; and yet I can not forbear to say somewhat of my feare that the effect will not be such as wee desire. I doe not call the arguments new for their matter, but for the new face they haue. But I will not close till I againe tell you that I



see not how the poore country where you are can be happy. And 1647, Jan. 9.  
now let this sad circulation put an abrupt period of the importunities of,

My Lord,  
Your Grace's humblest true seruant,  
R. MORAY.

9 Jan.

89. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON. 1647, Jan. 14.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

The reason of your retiring from Edinb[urgh] afflicts me, yet I cannot but hope as well as pray for your mother's recouery, and though you can not afford returns I purpose not to leave off writing during your absence.

I shall now briefly tell you a comfortlesse story of what is past here within these three dayes. On Tuesday the Commissioners presented their desires to the King in writing, and hee appointed this afternoone for answering. Hee first spoke, and then gaue it them in paper. The summe of it was that he could not giue any answer till they answered first two questions:—One, whether he were now a prisoner or not? The other, whether he might not be in Scotland with honor, liberty, and safety, hauing premised that the promises of a prisoner doe not oblige?

To this, after much adoe, they returned answer in writing that the Gouvernor had order from both Parliaments to looke to the safety of his personne for his owne good and his kingdomes, and desired to be excused from answering the other question, saying, withall, that if his M[ajesty] refused their desires, or delayed his answeres, they would be obliged to represent to him what further instructions they had from the Parliament.

This did not satisfy. Hee insisted still upon a peremptory answer to his quæries, and they still shifted. He argued that if they had power they ought to solue his questions; if not, they

1647, Jan. 14. should send home for it. They withdrew, as they had done twice before, to debate what they had to doe, and at last, being prest with that which they conceaued a meere delay, resolved to present the rest of their instructions which they had ready drawne and signed; which they did, and read them to him. All produced no other effect but to make him resolute to send an expresse if they would not, to have his two questions solued there. The debate lasted between them with comminge and goinge about 3 houres.

What all this will turne to God knowes. I will no more trouble you with reflections upon it. S[ir] P. Killigrew is not yet gone, nor will not till the King's questions be answered.

You will heare of a fauour the Committee hath put upon [me] very handsomely. They haue resolved to bestow on me to help my recruits the Regiment that was my L. Gordon's, and desire the Parliament to allow of it, all undesired by me, for I was preuented. Let me beg your concurrence, and that no objection may be stood upon. This I know will be taken as a strong and voluminous con-juration, for you need no more for information of what is to be done for me to procure liuely expressions of your kindnesse to,

My Lord,

Your Grace's humblest reallest seruant,

R. MORAY.

14 Jan. 1647.

1647, Jan, 24, 90. SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Because you had assured me you were to goe out of town I strained not the time that prest me exceedingly when I wrote what you saw concerning my cosen and myselfe. You will learne from others the folly and falsenesse of the calumny: and now I must confesse I haue not strenth enough to enter into an expostulation of the new miseries that I know you both see and feelee as sensibly

as I or any soule alyue. It were a frenzy to bid you looke for something to be done by the King in that which is implored for his preservation before he be left to the English Commissioners that arryved here yesternight. Nay, I can hardly refraine from undertaking on my lyfe that he will neuer doe euen at Holmeby what he hath refused here, though no more were askt, which is not lykely.

My Lord, can you blame me to cutt off passionately the thred of this wofull subject? Truly I can say no more but that it lyes heavy upon the spirit of,

My Lord,  
Your Grace's humblest reallest scruant,  
R. MORAY.

24 Jan. 1647.

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91. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

1648, Jan. 4.

MI LORD,

*Quen hath received by this post against which gives her very good hopes to beleive things are not farre from an agreement between King and Scot commiss[ione]rs, although she have noe certainty thereof neither from King nor any of your Lordshipes in consideration of the advance, and that which is to bee done when wee shal all be as nethe<sup>a</sup> conclusion. She commands me to let your Lordship know from her, first, that as she hath contributed all the offices that could depend upon her credit and persuasions, so she will continue to employ the same for the continuance and improvement of this union, when it shall be perfected and with the same instance, and that she shall have a share of contentment in it equall to her interests. In order to that which is to be doune when wee shall have advise of the finall conclusion she desires your Lordship to learne of S. C.<sup>b</sup> how farre the knowledge thereof is to be imparted here and what*

<sup>a</sup> So decyphered.

<sup>b</sup> Scottish Commissioners.



1648, Jan. 4.

*assistance and of what kinde are to be demanded, in which she is willing to be guided by your concurrent advises. If Docter Goffe, as hee writes last week, doe come this way with the dispatch yore Lordships will thinke of some other course to convey hether those resolutions that will bee necessary for the direction of such as will fall out to bee taken here and withall our freinds abroad. Mr. Denham, I understand, remaines in London, which will serve in some measure, being a person as I conceive wholly to bee trusted, but of this you will bee best able to judge by the condition a little time will put things into. In the mean space there is noe reason to adde any more to your Lordship's trouble. I am most truelie, my Lord,*

Your most humble servant,

89 and 98: h: 300: 422.

Jan. 4, 1647.

[Addressed :—For Lord Lannerick.]

1648, Feb. 1.

92. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY LORD,

Were I able to make good the character you have received of mee by the too favourable representations of my friends, I should have begged the honour you have condescended to allow mee, but, my Lord, soe well are you known to mee by the reputation you have everie where of a perfect man, that I dare not, without some modest feares, attempt soe unequall a correspondencie where there is so vast a disproportion in the knowledge, abilities, and interests of the persons; yet can I not want an encouragement of venturing upon such addresses as these whilest all that speake of you give an assurance of your being eminently noble, from whence, my Lord, I shall look for my pardon and my securitie. The face of business is much the same as when your Lo<sup>pp</sup> left us, only the Parliament seemes to act somewhat higher. *The solicitor hath made Crumwell his bedfellowe, and the armie is like them. The treason seemes to bee*

awakened and prosecuted against the Lords and Commons *by them* 1648, Feb. 1. *with all art and violence.* I find not *Pierpoynt* much in at it. *Sir Arthur Hasselrick did rant.* *Roberts* debated handsomly in *Peirs House*, by whose means that business is like to receive some stopp. *Crumwell moved for Ashursts that 1000l. might be given him in consideration of his losses, which is granted.* *Sir H. Vane, junior*, is returned to *Com. House*, yet seames *unsatisfied*, notwithstandinge that *Crumwell bestowed two nights oratrie upon him.* Some talk confidently of fresh *trinketting with the King*, and that *Ashburnhame is com to London* on purpose. This will certainly discover itself more plainly.

Thus, my Lord, I haue in obedience to you chose rather to say little then nothing, but assoone as anything of more consequence falls within my reach you shall haue an account of it from,

My Lord,

Y<sup>r</sup> most humble honoured servant,

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Feb. 1, 1647.

93. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

1648, Feb. 1.

MY EUER HONORED LORD,

Although as yett I can say litle that may adde to your knowledge of affaires heare yett I shal not bee silent in giuing you an accompt of what may conduce to your satisfacon in order to his M<sup>ts</sup> seruice, wherein I shall passe by what hath been publicquely acted as many other wayes comeing to your view, and first shall say that *they who desyre the restitution of monarchie expect it from you, though there are strong others to blast your intentions, and take of their party, and those they cannot bow they will breke, 1000<sup>li</sup> being offered by S<sup>r</sup> T. F[airfax] to take S<sup>r</sup> Marmaduck Langdell who is yett heir and not altogether satisfied from France.* Thes perticulars and his farther actions *my next shall giue you.* The King is well and merry, and so is the Queene, and *it is saide Parliament intends*

1648, Feb. 1. *neuve addresses to his Matie, which I belieue, because M. Ashburnhame is in England and will leaue no stone unturned to effect anie restitution by this armie. If good, all honest men wilbee glad of, but I feare selfe interest, and the rather because I am told they in France will not admitt the Prince to goe for Holland, and there-uppon the Ea. of Denbigh is to go ouer with some ouertures to her Matie and the Prince. My Lord, I know not how farre his Matie and ye are engaged, and what assurance yee haue from France, bot belieue it the more you stir for his Maties restitution the more will be your honor and the better his tearmes, in case the other party out of feare offer to doe it, which other they will not doe. I shall not need to say they are heare dayly more and more hatefull, that Sir Tho: Fairfax is come hether, and that besides Whitehall the Tower is to be garrisoned, and then some fondly beleue (the Citty beeing cowed and the factions of the army quelled) his Matie shall find there fauour and owe his restitution to some few of them; thus dying men catch at euery strawe. I will troble you no more untill the next, when I hope to bee more perticular and satisfactory; howeuer I shall alwaies bee*

Y<sup>r</sup> faithful seruant,

London, 1 Feb. 1647-8

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I shall desire your letters to bee directed to M<sup>r</sup> John Steeuens at the Ladie Cope's, in the same place as formerly.

648, Feb.  $\frac{3}{12}$ .

94. MUNGO MURRAY TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY LO[RD],

I humbly intreat you to be pleased by this presentes that I con-  
firme unto you and present my most humble seruice. I houe  
your L<sup>p</sup> hes excepted of that litell nage that I was bringinge for  
the Prince. After Sir Alexander Seton partede from me ther come  
my Lo: Maclan, Sir William Fleminge, and Sir George Hamble-  
ton. Wei arayued heir<sup>a</sup> the 7 of this month. The nixt day in

<sup>a</sup> At Paris.



the Louer I mete with my *Lord German*, who was then upon the 1648, Feb.  $\frac{2}{17}$ .  
 dispatch of *Doctor Gof* for *Holand*, whar his stay wold be for som  
 taym and then for *Scotland*. The shipes ar with you *befor this*, and  
 by that taym ane can be from you. *Heir* all will be in redenes,  
 so it is beleued you shall haue a *quick dispach heir*. I founde  
 both by the Queen and Prince a most deipe sens of *your zeale*, and  
 car of ther *sad condition*, and hes comanded me to *tel you* that if it  
 shall be in *ther pour you shal rap* the freute of *your o[w]en labors*.  
 My Lo: Montros hes not ben at this Court of a longe taym and it  
 sems daylay discontent, bot non I can speike with can tell the caus.  
 The supleis hei hes hede is greate consideringe the condition of  
 thos from whom it coms. It is realay beleued heir and by the best,  
 bot secretly keipt, that their is a *coraspondence betwixt the Parle-*  
*ment and him*. Howeuer there was greate apreheensions that he  
 would dou greet maters in his oun cuntrei. I haue taken of much  
 of that opinion, for what he hede don befor was by the countenans  
 of the Kinge and not his pouer and freindshipe, and if hei should  
 intend ane thinge ther to the contrarie all his oun freindes wold  
 rather pull him in peisas than assist him. What your L<sup>p</sup> will com-  
 mand shall be obseruide by him who shall euor studie to expres  
 how mouch I am,

My Lo:

Your Lo: faithfull and humble seruant,

MOUNGO MURRAY.

Pares, the 12 of Februarie, 1648, New Stayll.

This last part of my letter I wold not troubell you with, bot  
 keipe it to your self.

95. ——— TO ———

1648, Feb. 8.

SIR,

I herewith send you the Kings declaration which will not be  
 publisht till to morrow, least it might giue occasion to stay all the  
 posts of this day, who may carry matters of greate importance, for

1648, Feb. 8. truly I cannot see how this will bee of much, but it is done by his Ma<sup>ties</sup> positive order, and those *alterations since you saw it are all from his owne hand*. The Parliament will haue the next turne to speak, and that will be a thunderbolt indeed, but I haue such an one as will be more terrible in the report then the effect, and though there cannot be a worse preparative to a new address, yet the towne is full of the discourse of it; but I cann find no kind of ground for it, though I haue made it uery much my business to inquire, and *am named as the person that should be instrumentall in it*. I belieue the main drift of the report is to *create a new jealousy betweene the King and Scotland*, but I hope they are as farr from *taking the occasion* as I cann assure you he is from *giving it*, and so is *Ashburnham*; and of this I can giue you as good assurance as I cann of anything that rests in the power and will of a third person. They are likewise here as full of another report, which I belieue as farr from truth, though they make better use of it, and that is that they haue or shall certainly *satisfie Scotland*. The use they make of it is to keepe *the violence of the ignorant party with themselves*, and to bring a *dispaire upon* those who, if any *hope were yet left, would be readie* to assist; and truly of this last wee find a uery sad effect in the *busines of money*. All our *hopes from France and Holland stand fayre*, except that of the *generall peace*, which is againe *broken off*. All our *irons are in the fire*, and when to strike wee expect *your direction*, which with the rest of *your commands shall find a most ready obedience heere, and especially from,*

Sir,

Your most faithfull and humble seruant,

Feb. 8, 1648.

590. 349. 601.

1648, Feb. 8.

96. ——— TO ———

MY EVER HONORED LORD,

Although the motion of our great body heere be very slow, and so the productions of a weeke bee but litle, yett since my last they

haue dispatched commissioners to you with instructions which are 1648, Feb. 8.  
 belieued will not bee pleaseing, espetially since therein they imply  
 the King a prisoner, which really hee is, no man beeing admitted  
 to speake with him, besides hee is to haue but 30 seruants, and  
 those of the Generalls choise. Hee is said to bee very melancholy,  
 and good reason hee hath, for now to render him absolutely odious  
 a declaration is frameing, and horrid crimes pretended against him  
 (though 'tis belieued they will rather begett compassion then credit).  
 Howeuer this is the last aspertion that can bee cast on him. *If it  
 take, and that it may aduantage them, his life will not stand in their  
 way.* They proceed likewise against the 7 impeached Lords and  
 Sir John Maynard, and 'tis thought Willoughby of Parham will  
 hardly escape with life. The Causaliers say 'tis just, for as Hotham  
 first opposed the King at Hull, so hee in Lincolneshire, with the  
 like execrations. They still court the Citty and endeauour an  
 union betweene the Parliament, Army, and Citty, but the Com-  
 mon Councell yett stand out. A declaration, or rather ordinance,  
 is frameing to admitt Papistes to compound, and to indulge farther  
 to them, and the Kings party. *This to draw them from yee, but  
 they value it not, yee appearing as all honest men believe yee will.*  
*From France I hear they are resolu'd to comply with yee; that*  
*P. Charles beginns his journey for Holland the end of February,*  
*which I hope will be true. Sir M. Langdale is gone hence, and so*  
*are many more; yett I am safe, and hope to be soe; yett, my Lord,*  
*if yow please to recommend mee to her Ma<sup>tie</sup> and P. Charles against*  
*his advance I shall be better able to serve you. I could endeavour*  
*it by his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, but I dare not trust Denham, being Mr. Ashburn-*  
*ham's creature. It is belieued 329 hath made his peace againe, the*  
*children being still with him. I must conclude that wee depend solely*  
*on yee, and that on your advance your victory will be honorable and*  
*easie, for they heere are odious to all men.* In confidence of which  
 I subscribe myself

Your faithfullest seruant,

8 February, 1647.

282.



1648, Feb. 22.

97. ——— TO ———

SIR,

Your freends here are uery impatient till they heare from you, and the rather because what the *Parliament* has heard from *ther commissioners* does not all *please them*. You will hear this post of a great division in *their councells*<sup>a</sup> in *France* concerning the *disposal of Prince his person*, and of great *summs ofred to our ministers ther*, and then of that *crowne to detain him ther*, in answer to all which I am *desyred from thence* to tel you that they ar so far from *receding from anie engagement to you* that they will not *go against* any thing that you shall offer to them by way of *opinion or aduice* in that behalfe. I am assured from one that was a witness to it that they *Crumwell desyred a meting to bee reconciled to Martin*, but that they *parted* much mor *enemis then they met*, and our *gouenours* are in very great disorder from a *new apprehension of the Leuelers* and the little assurance they have of *ther owne armi*. They are now raising seuen new regiments (as they say) for Ireland, being well assured that they shall satisfy the Scotts. Our preparations by sea are greater this summer then euer; what the designe is we know not, but by putting *land-men into the ships* it may probably bee to *land at your banks*. Ormond is arriued in France, from whence they resolute to dispatch him speedily, and are uery confident of uniting that kingdome in the King's behalfe, but possibly this may bee less a secret to you then to them.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble seruant,

349.

Feb. 22<sup>d</sup>, 1648.

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<sup>a</sup> The first cypher of the word is decyphered "yem," which makes no sense.

98. ——— TO THE [EARL OF LANERICK].

1648, Feb. 23.

MY LORD,

I receiued your Lopps, but soe late that I could not make return by the post nor doth this deserue an express, though it happily falls into your packet. Yours was the more wellcome in that it makes my expectation the more steddie. Your affaires were shewed us generally by another light, and great hopes giuen of your clargie, and (which wee postpone) some Lords of considerable interest. You may please in your next to bestowe on mee a viewe of such persons as dissent and upon what foot; and it will not bee for your disservice that it bee better cleared to some heere how far you proceed concerning 50 and how it may bee excused heere that you receiue with soe much countenance some eminent 67. 170. 57. Wee are made belieue heare from *Scotland* that as your present temper is, a declaration engaging against change of government, and some votes for promoting presb[yt]erie, will work verie much: but, if I heare right, the declaration read yesterday in the House of Commons is not tempered that waie. It seemes not to bee less than 30 sheets of paper, the style verie long; 10 pages endeavour to proue the unnecessariness of pressinge the Couenant, chiefly by reason of the false glosses your commissioners haue sett upon it. Much of it tends to the clearing the Parliament from the tolleration of schismes, and maintaineinge as it were or excusinge Anabaptisme as not hauinge a text of scripture enjoyning the baptizing of infants. 231 would weary mee with noe more, and saith it is soe voluminous that it cannot admitt a debate in parts but shall haue another readinge, and then 'tis believed it will down without chewingge, as being well digested beforehand. It was brought in by M<sup>r</sup> N. Fines, but seemes pennd by Sadler, and lickd ouer by those that gaue him in his notes for composure. It is supposed that the Marq. of Ormond is gon to Ireland, for which reason a check is upon 3500<sup>li</sup> paieble 3 daies since at Goldsmiths

1648, Feb. 23. Hall, untill the Committee at Derby House bee satisfied that he hath not broake his articles and engagement. If Oudart and Bosevile were not escaped beyond seas (the one into Holland the other France) they would hardly have escaped hanging here; Oudart having deliuered letters to the D. of York, persuading him to attempt an escape, and Bosevile hauing receiued his answere, which was intercepted at Kairesbrook Castle with severall other letters from the Queene and others. E. Northumberland and Sir Will. Armin by command examined the Duke, who after many evasions confessed it, and yesterday by letters to the Speakers humbled himselfe to the Houses, and it was carryed after an houres debate that hee should not be restrained; M<sup>r</sup>. Crewe being the reporter from Derby House helped him to some fauour. *Loudon* is much unspirited of late, as hauing their confidence in *Scotland* somewhat lessened by reason of the misrepresentations of things. The impeachments of the Aldermen will come on sodainly, and will not want a severe prosecution; *Sir Arthur Haselrig* solicites it violently. Noe man is soe hard to be understood heere as *Northumb.* but, if hee may be guessed at by *Pierpoint*, hee is not really what hee would at present seeme to bee. *Sir H. V[ane]* pursues his change of judgment outwardly, and while *Crum[well]* makes applications to him he at heart seemes coye; these things I doubt not are better known to you as to the-reality of them. I haue taken the boldness to send you another cypher, it being larger, and one I sometimes use to a friend beyond seas. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most humble honore and servant,

C.<sup>a</sup>

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99. JAMES FENN TO EDWARD EDGAR.

23 Feb. 1647.

I receiued yours this daye, and that I writte you yesterday of *Ormondes* being gon into *Ireland* I contradict now, for since letters

<sup>a</sup> Three or four letters following the C are obliterated.



ar come, *he is safe arived in France*, where *Antrim* mett him, 1648, Feb. 23. which looketh like something of what I intimated unto you in my former letters, that *dyesis*<sup>a</sup> in *Scotland* giueth a greate alarum à tous les moderees, but I hope 'tis as the ciuill lawe best expresseth yt, onely "receptaculum honestum," since Simeon and Leui were "fratres in malo," which you knowe much better then my selfe. I shall obey what you writte when *Prince of W.* cometh, but then praye doe me the fauour to gett yt seconded from *Scotland* on my behalfe in the meane tyme as a person not disagreeable there. *Duke of York's letter to the K. of England* were to dayes agone intercepted by ———, wherein hee had orders, as appeareth in the tenure, to escape, and meete *P. of W.* in *Scotland, France, or Holand*, which argueth an infinite varietye in the resulte of those debates, and giueth more discours where I beleue you finde enough alreadie. *Asburnham* and the rests of his caball are designed, 'tis thought heere, for some greate encouneter to regayne there lost reputation concerning *K. of E.* I belieue tis meerey a radomontade, and that noe bodye is lesse curious now in his peticular then themselues, whoe ar meerey persons of intereste. *Be not over-confident of rebellion of Ireland* encorporating with *English in Ireland* and *Scots in Ireland under Ormond*, which, belieue mee, is all but "deceptio visus," since.<sup>b</sup> I am sure of yf att this tyme they endeavour with all solicitousness to obstructe *the treaty between Scotland and Pr. of Wales*, couertly insinuating the interests of Bb. as the properer seate for that purpose, and therefore *Antorim is sente*. Praye doe mee the fauour, before the passage of letters groweth more difficult, to send mee a passe from the Comittee of Estates in *Scotland* to come theyther iff there bee occasion, because many reasons make mee desire yt, espescialye the knowledge I haue of the goode effectes yt maye cause touching my owne particular in *France*, whoe are onely "Donec eris fælix, multos numerabis amicos: Tempora cum fuerint nobila, solus eris;" therefore, unlesse you see cause upon the place not to moue yt, I beseech you effecte yt for me as soone as you can, and accordinglye enclose in your nexte cometh heither.

<sup>a</sup> Sic.<sup>b</sup> Sic.

1648, Feb. 23. *Duke of Buckingham* is infinitely troubled att the late remonstrance of House of Commons concerning his father, and I heare *Ashburnham*, et ceter. meane to set him on something of desperate from that rice<sup>a</sup> to helpe there follies owte of the mire, for His Ma. violent partye<sup>b</sup> haue not onely loste their fortunes but theire brainis to into the bargayne; and those haue the jaunedise will not be content till euerye bodye bee of the same tincture in grayne, which is now continuing with all the diligence can bee imagined, and must take effect unlesse *Scotland* holde faste to the firste principles and undertake the mutuall protection of nobilitye of both kingdomes, which will certainlye bee the quarrell ere long, and like an iland in a mighty ocean rationallye maye apprehend the same invasions both from His Ma. and H. of Co. "quià posuit nos in lubrico loco Dominus." Clergye of Scotland, H. of C. relye much uppon with the influence of *Argyle*, whoe is the Mæcenas of yt, and 10,000<sup>li</sup> is redde to be soe disbursed at *Edenbrugh*, whereof I haue noe ordinarye intelligence.

I muste farther acquainte that when the tyme apeareth proper for yt, and the waie open to any such things, I shall apeale to the Committee of Estates in Scotland not onely for fauour but justice, unlesse the State varie euerye waie from the maximes I hope yeate yt moueth uppon, as I hope others will doe were soe used, unless there bee a visible meanes of plenarye satisfaction used, these motiues woulde perswade mee youl haue noe difficultys at all in obtayning the passe I mentioned before, which once againe I desire maye bee hastened. Laste week I receiued a letter from P. of W. declaring hee woulde speedilye sende for mee whether I shoulde come withoute naming any place. What M. of H.<sup>c</sup> or his brother please to comaund soe uselesse a servant shall bee fayethfulye obeyde, and accordinglye I maye satisfye both of them in case they thincke fitte to send mee instructions to that purpose. Once againe remember I tell you yf there bee not a firme union resolued of before P. of W. comin to Scotland 'twill be the second part of what

<sup>a</sup> Sic.

<sup>b</sup> Decyphered "darlye."

<sup>c</sup> Perhaps an old cypher for "the Duke of Hamilton."

was acted before att Oxford, "et sic vos non vobis fertis aratra boues," because all the prologue of these counsellés and treatyes tends to that, but I remember I haue often seene a player venter to come owte of the tiring howse in a habette of his oune fancye, 2 or 3 steppes on the stage, yeate he hath been called in againe and dressed afterwarde according to the iudgement of the howse, whereof I leaue the application totallie to you. *You may be pleased* as occasion serueth to represent me to *N[obility] of S[cotland]* for what you knowe me to be. There are diuerse rumore stirring heere of the Prince's coming [?] owte of France; some saye into Scotland, others France, a third Flanders, but the merchants of the Exchange that haue ordinarilye there sheete letters beleue there is noe such thing; when euer he goeth maye yt bee with the spirritte of accomodation and to consider these 3 disordered kingdommes ar his natie places, not foreigne counetreyes to bee ouerrunne or conquered. Of your domestick occasions I haue giuen you a large accompte in scypher. Expecting to heare from you speedilye how you woulde haue me dispose of those moneyes and billes of exchange ar consigned to you heare, towardes which expedition forgett not the papour I desire to receiue from you, as also whether youl haue me paye my rente to the merchants or your bayeliffe. My Lord of Holland hath obtayned a passe to goe to the Spawe. Yf you bee still troubled with that disease as I heare you ar, I beleue yt may be easilye procured, now you haue made your composition with the Parliament. *Ormonde's being made generall of al the armies if not perfectly qualifed by the providence of Scotland* is like enough to unsauour the whole pottage, beeing as my former letter sayeth bredde att the feete of Gamaliel. I confesse, though I will not oppose my single iudgement against yours and the reste of your learned counsell att laue, yeate as a poore solicitour yt giueth me often the vertigo and maketh me scratch where yt doth not itch, though I submitte euer to the majour parte in all debates. He is a person of soe much intereste as if *Scotland* manige his parte arighte, and shew him a visable



1648, Feb. 23. comoditye oute of yt, hee will be the firste sial<sup>a</sup> *joyne in al wee desyn, should bee reformed and may be easil[y] aplyed by the other party yf k. t. b tymely, nay de[x]terously gayned* whereon Mount-rose, Digby will all fasten to reingratiatate themselves under his popularitie; who coulde hee lie warmer without them, caireth as much whether they prosper or wither as I or *M. of H.* doe. I shall expect to heare from you againe in Marsh when the resolution is taken, but if you can sende mee *the passe* before Godde of his infinite mercye yeate sende us a peace by treatie, that the counetrie maye not bee a prey to foreigners, I shall neuer be of opinion to endanger our ancient libertyes att ames ace as all warre is. I praye be mindefull of mee, and since I have putte my whole stocke into your hands maneige yt to my best aduantage. So I rest

Your faythfull and humble seruant,

JAMES FENN.

If any thing occurreth heere worthye your knowledge I shall not fayle to write yt.

1648, Feb. 28.

100. ——— TO [THE EARL OF LANERICK].

MY EUER HONORED L<sup>d</sup>,

Yours of the 22 giues much satisfaction both for the matter and manner of your proceedings and designes, and I dare confidently say yf *your friends in England will answere your expectation and I hope no less from France, though as yett they rather expect then act.* For affaires heere they are briefly thus:—First, the D. of Yorke is remitted from punishment by his submission to the 2 Houses, and againe gettes under the care of the Earl of Northumberland. Heere they haue been almost a weeke very busy in answering the Scottis declaracion which, 'tis said, is very bitter against that nation. It will not yett be finished; by this you may judge theire inclinations, but more by the shipping large proportions of

<sup>a</sup> Sic.

<sup>b</sup> Sic.

armes, amunition, and cannon for Newcastle and the northerne partes; howeuer their armie growis dayly more mutinous, and the effects beginne to appeare. A whole regiment in Wiltshire designeing to haue gotten into Salisbury and there hauing strengthened their party to haue declared, but it being discouered, 3 of them are condemned, though before execution they may haue the same fortune that one of Sir Tho. Faifax lief-guard had, which beeing lately disbanded, one of them for taking away the colles was condemned, but 3 troopes came presently from the Mews to Whitehall and demaunded him, so to appease them he is acquitt. Yesterday papers were posted against Cromwell and Ireton for endeavouring to enslave the freeborne people of England, and to execute them by marshall law. This is another of Lilborne's and the Adjutators who beginne to stirre again. 'Tis againe a discourse that Cromwell and his party out of an apprehension of the Scotts' aduance into England, and finding their own weaknesse, intend againe to court the King, and it may bee that in order to this it is that no more of the declarations against the King are to be printed though the pretence bee that the Errata are to be purged; and it is certaine that there lately passed a vote against calumniating the person of the King and the 2 Houses. 'Tis likewise in euery mans mouth that Mr Ashburnham hath leaue to goe to his Matie, but this seemes not very probable, seeing the last weeke Mr Maul and Mr Murray were commanded away from his Matie and came hither on Satterday night. They report him more prisoner then euer and utterly ignorant of all affaires, and without the least comfort of friends or seruants, a cruelty neuer yett used to the greatest traytors. I doe not find that the army or Houses get any more ground on the City, but dayly loose much they had gotten. I can adde litle more, the weekely pamphletts being full of what els I know, only I pray for the future direct your letters to the former person at his house in Westminster. My L<sup>d</sup>

I shall alwaies bee your most humble seruant to command,

The last of Feb. 1647.

282.

1648, Feb.

101. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

*MY LORD,*

Till we heare of *your publick* resolutions *all heir of all parts* are silent and idle, haveing no other cynosure or polestare but the resolutions of *your Conuention of Estaits*, whileas your holie brethren are active and vigilant, haveing in one instant voted all his Ma<sup>ties</sup> seruants now attending him to be removed, and such only to waite as Sir Tho. Fairfax shall nominat; of which four of the severest of them are to watch at the dores of his bedchamber, and to lie and be ther at their pleasure. The House of Commons haveing prepared, committed, and past their grand manifesto,<sup>a</sup> in which they accuse his Ma<sup>tie</sup> of parricide, the losse of Rochel and the Isle of Rae, levying warre against Spaine and France without consent of Parliament, calling in of the Danish Horse and assistance from thence, monopolies, the invasion of the House of Commons, and the fyve members, the Irish rebellion, manie more severe insimulations, all lyke as maine harbingers of his deposall and ruine, which in all human conjecture must come *if the affection, loalty, and currage of the Scottish, ther presente much desyred march into Eng[land] doe not perturbe and frustrate the prevaileing counsell of these desperate and bloody usurpers*; and indeed, nothing els can *preuent that* but at tymes<sup>b</sup> vigorous and *b[risk] march into Eng[land]*. *Your Cavaleer and Presbiter[ian] freends* all perishing or languishing *in expectation of your helpe*, and unlesse your assistance prove opportune in *moneye as well as in the armie* it is to be feared you will spare your *purs* to spend *your bloode*. For want of money Sir M. Lan[gdale] and manie considerable active officers continue still *here in London, though he hath receaued from the P[rince] of W[ales] a full commission to command in the North, and lykewise to come to Edinb[urgh] and consult with your Lordships*. *I haue endeavoured much to gett five hundred*

<sup>a</sup> Ordered to be printed Feb. 11, 1648.<sup>b</sup> (Sic) A timeous.



*pounds from your freinds in the Toure of London, but all in vaine; ther monie is ther best tutelarie angell. Indeed it's to be feared that the present power and necessitie of [the] K[ing]s partie (unlesse encouraged by your helpe) must sitt quiet and give you the honour and the reward of so great a service, your brethren the Independents haveing perswaded all such who loves ease that they and their brethren are agreed, haveing by ordinance established the Presbyterie the nationall government of this church, and Master Marshall homo antiquâ virtute et fide is sent with fifty thousand pounds to cleare your clergiemens' lungs. This argent-angina may be discovered from their extemporarie prayers and sermons against his Ma<sup>tie</sup>. This canicular disease is only curable by phebotamiam et ligaturam. All your French freinds are well, joviall and sanguine, expecting your inuitation; and none more constant and patient then [the] K[ing], as you may perceave by his de[claration] of which I send your Lo: a copie. There is a warrant out from Sir T. F[airfax] to secure Ormond. Sir J ohn B[arclay] and his Lordship are gone for France, and from thence to Irland, being by Inchequeen, which is of your part, Lord Holland thinks, ther beeing many jealous eyes on him how to gett out of England to Holland or France. This is all more then the two in companie with this I have at this time to trouble your Lo. being*

503: 304. 70 -

most humble and obedient servant.

In your first cypher with me

9. 47. 62. 16. 21. 40. 34. 510. 9. 522. 121. 521.

102. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

1648, March 7.

MY LORD,

*A letter from the English Commissioners, and all other hands being full of your distempers and Church divisions hath much abated the affection and action of London and the Kinges partie, as I am*

1648, March 7. much feared they will produce the same effect *in the Queen and Prince of Wales* (who are in great passion to heare of your resolutions), and unlesse *your trustie actions* make not the contrare appeare (*though to the ruine* of all who shall oppose) *all your friends* will abandon you and looke upon the last as the worst of your actions, the hopes of which *hath invited my Lord Manchester and Peerpoint* and others to sollicite earnestly *the Marquis of Argyll and others of that partie* to send new comissioners to the Parleament thereby to gaine tyme and other aduantages, the sole way to defeat the King and the designe in hand. *If your counsell* and courage do not prevent this desperate plot *all heir ar ondone*. Men of honour cannot be perswaded that *a people* so wise and valiant can let passe ane oportunitie of so much credit and interest. Whatever the event be, I am sure all heere are sufficiently satisfied *with your endeavours*, and are confident that the difficulties must be great which you will not hazard to overcome. It is much admired that after so manie assurances *of the Marquis of Argyll's concurrence* in this designe given by *the Marquiss of Argyll to the Queen, and also by Mr Murray and Lord Traquyre to the Queen, and other persons* of honour here, *who are* highly discontented *with them* in undertakeing for Argyll, whose interest wholly depends upon the airie opinion of the clergie, which once being excluded from the consultation of publict affaires will soone decay; but better things are expected from one of his parts who uses to change their opinion with their condicion. This is all which I thought fitt to communicate to you at this tyme.

This day the commissioners' letters both publict and private being read in the House, they did take it verie highly that such a Committee of Lords and Commons should be chosen to receave and consider the papers which were to be given by the Commissioners of England, the cheifest of which as my Lord Chancellor, Lauderdale, Sir Charles Erskine, Mr Kennedy, were to be complained of; and that yow may see the great confidence they have of a party with you, they have sent doune instructions to complaine of divers

things that past concerneing the Scotch Commissioners' dissent from 1648, March 7. accuseing of' Montroyse, and divers other things relating therto, of the Chancellor giveing order to print his papers contrare to a order of the House, in so much that all the accusations appeared so frivolous to M<sup>r</sup> Selden that he conceived it more proper to lay them aside. While these things were in agitation one stood up,<sup>a</sup> why my Lord Waristone should be left out who was the maine agent in most of those businesses; but that worthie Gent: demerits to this Parliament was thought so great that he deserved a most thankfull memorie then to accuse him. This same day M<sup>r</sup> Marshall's desires was granted that he might returne, being as big of a sermon of which he cannot be brought to bed of in Ed[inbu]r[gh] as he was of his thanksgiving sermon upon the returne of the Speaker. The Leift. Gen: Cromwell hath by vote of the Commons given him 25000<sup>l</sup> of my Lord Volster's estate, which was worth 5000 to my Lord of Worchester.

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103. ——— TO ———

648, March 7.

SIR,

March 7<sup>th</sup>, 1648.

I have receiued yours of 29<sup>th</sup> of Feb. so that of the 3 letters you mention only the second has miscarried. Though the *opposition* bee lesse then wee feared, yet wee are very sorry there is any, since you are to expect that it will bee fomented from hence with all possible art and industry, nor indeed is there any other visible means of their preservation heere, but by giueing you a *diuersion at home*. I belieue you will heare from *D. Fraser* of the particulars of the *West*, but from those that manage the generall business there wee are assured of a most uniuersall readines amongst them, as likewise from the principall persons of *Stafford* and *Warwickshire*, and of a certaine *designe to make sure of Warwicke Castle*. There is also besides that of the *association a designe toe be layd for the surprisal*

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps "and asked" is omitted.



1648, March 7. *of a fort in Essex, and an assureans upon the closing of it of raysing 300 horse and 1500 foot, but all these must staye for risers tili<sup>a</sup> you gett the tigane (?) before then. Before this comes to your hands the King will haue attempted his escape (not that hazardous way you may probably haue heard of, because it was knowne to some of your correspondents heir) but by the assistance of some nowe about him (and as he writs), with great probability of succes; but till ye heere the successe you may please to keep it private. I belieue Thursday will bee a day of great humiliation to the Presb[byterian] party in the House, who now growing very neere an equality with the others, the Lords sent downe an ordinance in pursuance of the Armies declaration in August to make null all that was done in the House in the absence of the Speakers. It was strongly opposed by the Presb[byterians], who desired a fortnight's time for the debate, and that in the meantime the House should bee called, but it was carried against them that Thursday should bee the day and that the House should not bee called, so that there is no question but it will bee carried, and then the House will bee ready for another purge whensoever the Army shall think fitt to administer it.*

I am, Sir,

Your most humble and faithfull seruant,

349.

1648, March 10.

104. LORD BYRON TO [THE EARL OF LANERICK].

MY LORD,

*Since my coming into the Parliament parts I have negotiated with some eminent persons formerly of the adverse party with so good success that I doubt not but upon the first [entrance<sup>b</sup>] of your army in England the greatest part of Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales will declare for the King, and that the principall places of*

<sup>a</sup> Sic.

<sup>b</sup> Word undecyphered.

strength in these countries will be secured for his service. I have likewise laid [a]<sup>a</sup> design for the surprisall of Nottingham Castle and the Cittie of Oxford at the same time, and had I but a reasonable some of money I should not doubt to make all sure, but unless hast bee made on your side all our endeavours will bee [in vain], order being now given to secure all the King's party. It will be requisite likewise for the prevention of all feares and jealousies and satisfaction of the people that a declaration usher in your army, and that care bee taken for the dispersing a competent number of coppies. Thus much I haue made bould to signifie to your Lo<sup>pp</sup> by Colonell Chesnall, who will deserve your Lord<sup>ps</sup> favour and respect. I humbly desire as speedily as may be to heare from your Lo<sup>pp</sup>. This comes from Ld Biron, who is,

My Lord,  
Your most humble faithfull servant.

March the 10<sup>th</sup>, 1647.

105. LORD BYRON TO [THE EARL OF LANERICK].

1648, March 18

MY LORD,

In a letter of the 10<sup>th</sup> of March sent by Colonell Chasnall I gave your Lordship an accompt of my proceedings since my coming into Cheshire. This is farther to acquaint your Lordship that since then I have receaved a commission from P. Wales to confirme that I formerly had from the King to bee commander in chiefe of Cheshire, Lancashire, Shroppshire and North Wales. I am withall commanded to receaue directions from your Lordship and others the Lords Commissioners of Scotland which is the *primum mobile* from whence these orbes heere must receive their motion. This bearer is Major Marlesworth, one who hath beene very active in the King's

<sup>a</sup> There are some cyphers before "design," in the end of which is 13 = a. The others were probably blanks.

1648, March 18. *service.* It is conceived by all here that nothinge can *bee so prejudicall to this designe as delay*, for many reasons too longe to be written. *I therefore desire your orders may with all speed be sent to L. Byron, who is,*

My Lord,

Your Lo<sup>pps</sup> most humble faithfull servant.

March the 18<sup>th</sup>, 1647.

1648, March 21.

106. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY EUER HONORED LORD,

Not hauing receiued any letters this weeke from thence I am only in the number of those that are confident of your reall intentions, though ignorant of the manner, and so am satisfied, and that you may be assured the generallity of men here expect better days I shall tell you they judge it thus: that of late the 2 Houses haue been very silent and intent on what may conduce to their preseruations, yett their feares are many, to which end 'tis belieued by many they intend speedily to adorne and leaue the disposall of all to the Comittee at Derby House. Many of them are preparing to trauaile, and the Speaker intends for the Spa. Gold is very high in price, because transported with much goods of persons of quality. Poyer keepes Pembroke Castle and defyes their ordinance. Forces are marching down to reduce him, if they can. The army is more and more discontented, of whome many by small companies dayly hast northward (as well as cavaliers). Yett in hope of a party, they haue voted the Papists to compound: this is but a rotten staffe, and will deceiue them. The University of Oxon refuse to obey their new visitors, and the Deputy Gouernor will not assist them, because hee says the 2 Houses intended they should only displace unworthy men, and they remooue none but worthy. On Sunday an Independent souldier would haue preached in Paules, but was by the multitude hurried to the Thames, and hardly escaped drowning. From Fraunce I heare nothing,



but that they depend on your results, which I doubt not but 1648, Mar. 21.  
 wilbee honorable and just, *yett I dare say if yee intend to settle  
 affaires here by a ——? yee shall never doe it soe well as at the head  
 of ane army in England, with swords in your hands, the sight of  
 which will only bringe these to reason.* The King, for any thing I  
 heare, is well and merry, though in a very streight custody.  
 Yesterday the Countess of Lannericke went heare to take ship-  
 ping for Scotland. I pray God send her a safe passage. I have  
 no more to adde but that I desire to receiue your commands,  
 which shall bee punctually obserued by

Your faithfull and humblest seruant,

282: 333.

21 March, 1647.

When I had closed my letter I receiued one from your faithfull  
 seruant and my freind, honest 33: 36: 47: 13: 50: 10: 51: 77:  
 for which I presume in this to giue him thanks, because I can at  
 this time but repeat againe what I have sayed heere. I am just  
 now told that the head Q<sup>r</sup> is remoueing to Newarke, that Cromwell  
 and the Generall goe hence to-morrow for the North, they haucing  
 priuately sent the greatest part of theire Army in small bodies  
 northward, intending to assist Argile and bring the warr home to  
 your dores.

107. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

1648, Mar. 28.

MY EUER HONORED LORD,

I doe retorne you humbly thanks for your remembraunce in my  
 good freindes letter which I received, and all the requitall I can  
 make is to assure you that affaires heere doe euery day looke better  
 then other in order to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s seruice. At first theise heere have  
 lately by theire Agents, Burges and Calamy, 2 ministers, and  
 Glouer, a lawyer, endeauered to begett a right understanding be-  
 tweene the Army, 2 Houses, and the Citty, and haue opposd that if

1648, Mar. 28. the Citty would really joyne in their assistance they would release their Aldermen, dismisse the souldiers from Whitehall and the Mews, and restore them the Tower and Militia of the Citty, but they being averse to those propositions as perceiving the end, the Agents moved them to petition the 2 Houses for a personall treaty with his Ma<sup>tie</sup>. To this they had this answer that the Citty had had so ill success in former addresses as that they would not fall into the like inconueniencies, but sayd if the 2 Houses would restore the King to his honor and authority, and them to their Militia, they would joyne with them to desire an act of obliuion. This auersnes of the Citty puts them to new counsell, which the juncto of Independants haue held thrice in priuate since Thursday last, but haue not, as I heare, concluded any thing, only 'tis reported they haue amongst themselues voted for Monarchy, and then, the question being who should be the Monarch, Martin sayd if wee must haue that gouernment wee had better haue this King and oblige him then to haue him obtruded on us by the Scotts, and owe his restitution to them. It is said on Thursday next it wilbee publickly debated what gouernment shalbee established. Others say they haue a designe first to frame the body of a counsell who shall gouerne all under the King and the[n] to restore him. 'Tis beleued they will shortly adorne, some say to Windsor, whither they are sending most of the armes out of the Tower. Thus much for the Ciuill busines. I heere warlike succeeds worse, for besides the priuate discontents amongst them and their generall hatred to Cromwell, they are at a stand by the aduice from Wales, for Poyer making lately a salley out of Pembroke Castle, and those from Tenby and the contrey assisting him, they haue utterly defeated the besiegers, slayne or mortally wounded Col. Flemminge, the Commander in cheife, and about 50 more, taken 2 culuerins, and put all the rest to flight. This caused the two Houses yesterday to debate whether the Army should not draw that way, but their greater apprehensions of you had made them yett irresolute. Wee that liue in hope say the 3 Counties of Monmouth,

Glamorgan, and Brecon, have mett and resolved to assist their 1648, Mar. 28.  
neighbours in Pembroke. The 2 Counties of Devon and Cornwall  
are on Munday next to meet at a hurling (a sport they haue with  
a ball), though 'tis thought they haue an other designe, for they,  
but espetially their neighbour countye, Dorsetshire, are very  
much discontented, and fitt to receiue the first impression. The  
Parliament judges are returned from their circuites very much  
neglected and unsatisfied, litle obedience beeing giuen them, and  
particularly the sheriffe of Buckingham would take no oath, so  
there was no Assizes, and hee of Warwicke would not cause the  
condemned to bee executed, for feare of future question. At the  
Assizes in Essex (the Parliament's beloued country) they were gene-  
rally framing a pet[ition] for a personall treaty and desbanding the  
Army, but the E. of Warwicke preuayled with them to stay 10  
dayes, and promised that if in that time they saw not some-  
what donne in order to their desires hee would joyne with them  
in their pet[ition]. From Ireland Inchequin hath written that all  
the blood spilt in the 2 Kingdomes must bee layed to the accompt  
of the 2 Houses, for if they had duely employed the money raised  
for the suppressing the Rebells there it had been donne, and there  
had been no warre in England, and to conclude he was reduced to  
such streights as that hee must bee necessitated to take such condi-  
tions as the Rebells would giue him. From France I am aduer-  
tised that the Prince is ready for action, and longs to bee at it, only  
staying on your resolutions, Sir W<sup>m</sup> Flemminge beeing now aboue  
14 days since on his journey towards you about it. The Councell  
then in the interim are of various oppinions, some that he should  
imediately come into Scotland, others stay and expect in Holland,  
and some to goe for Ireland. There hath been lately a duell  
betweene P. Rupert and L<sup>d</sup> Percy, the grounds I know not. Percy  
is hurt. The King is well, and by Cressett, who is put from him,  
sent this word that he heard the 2 Houses intended speedily to send  
him some proposicions, but bad him assure his freinds he would  
yeald to nothing without giuing full satisfacion to all interests. My



1648, Mar. 28. Lord, I haue now trobled you to much, but in confidence of your acceptance of my slender accompt I doe subscribe myselfe

Your most faithfull and humble seruant,

282.

28 March, 1648.

108. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY LORDE,

I haue receiued your Lo<sup>pps</sup> of the 21 present and haue deliuered the enclosed according to the directions. The difficulty of *sending to the K's Ma<sup>tie</sup> and Col. Hamond of his escape is increased, Crescet being* discovered by indiscretion, and removed, and the bussines more then suspected. Howe-euer there yet remaynes some hopes of effecting it; the business of *D. York* will, I truste in God, be done next weeke; the great business in *Cittie London* is to reconcile the differences betwixt *these Pribiterian and Independ[ent] parties*, which is prosecuted with much sedulity and arte, and many priuate meetings aboute it, but not likely to produce any effect in preiudice to the publique, and the to early designes of others *throwe of King's party* driue the *Presbiterians to a jelousey*, and consequently to an accomde; and that which is not the least inconuenience, *Lo: Willoughby* being totally layed aside may produce a very ill consequence. I thought fitt to acquaint your Lo<sup>pp</sup> with theise things that you may apply what remedyes you thinke moste expedient. I shall conclude with my paper and remayne

Your Lo<sup>pps</sup> moste humble and moste obedient seruant,

624: 143:

March the 28th, 1648.

109. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

1648, April 4.

*The sad condition of King's affaires by the intermeddling of the busie and impertinent clergie, your seekness, and the disaffected part*

constantly *oposing all ways of restoring King*, is cast by *delays and* 1648, April 4.  
*willfull oposition, must of necessitie make all your freinds despaire*  
*here of your reall intentions and so desert their principals and*  
*affection to you for having once loosed oppertunitie (the life of*  
*action.) You must resolute to expect all imaginable yett assistance;*  
*for the Presbyterian party here (as well as in Scotland) begins to*  
*expresse their feares, and some men of quality professes that*  
*Argyll's partie and intentions are more laudable and honest than the*  
*other, in so much that Traquair by his prudence and asiatick eloquence*  
*must be esteemed a prophet; that Hamilton can doe nothing with-*  
*out Argyll. I wish some of King's freinds have not contributed*  
*much to make him speake veritye, and I wish too that he may be as*  
*true in the consequences that King and Queen shall see when others'*  
*attempts should be vaine. Argyll and his freinds would doe the*  
*bussiness; and to gaine credit emissaries must be sent abroad to*  
*decease the credulous and disaffected. These and other more horrid*  
*designes by Marshall the State Proteus will in few dayes make your*  
*best endeavours ridiculous, and in this last loose you more then in all*  
*other your unfortunat actions you have done [?], and the litle or*  
*nothing of honor, courage, and affection (for which unfortunat*  
*Scotland had in antient tyme some opinion) you promised; your*  
*contrie must be totallie sacrificed to the ambition, interests, and dis-*  
*contents of privat men; the King, his posterity, monarchy, and all*  
*true and ancient formes of gouernment quite extinct, all forsooth*  
*for the Presbyterian and the directoy.* But too much of this. *The*  
*expectation of your tragicomicall letters constantly gave us of action*  
*and doeing your duetys afforded us arguments to keep your party*  
*in some good temper. But it will be impossible for [long]; patience*  
*and promises are vaine things, and no longer will men [be] suspended*  
*with them, for not only your freinds in France dispaire but apre-*  
*hends worse, and I am accused for giueing too much assurance*  
*of your affections. Langhorne's forces in danger to be destroyed, all*  
*our designs rationally projected on the point to be destroyed. The*  
*Indep[endent] party who the other day was crist falen now waxed*

1648, April 4. *proud and insolent; there most arrogant and scornfull words sufficient to animate most abject of men.* But a Presb[byterian] giveing *Hamond* 500<sup>li</sup> per annum, 1,000 in money and 20<sup>li</sup> per Septimanam, 200<sup>li</sup> to 4 keepers, in a word, if the next post or an expresse (which wee have too long expected) bring us not better newes, you will doe well to abandon *your designe*, and let your frends here use *there reson for that* preservation. God prosper all your designes.

London, 4th Aprill.

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110. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY EVER HONORED LORD,

Although I cannot adde much to my last, yett I cannot retract any thing; affaires goeing on much in the same way, discontents still encreasing and no remedies appeareing, this makes them heere diuide councells. For the most part of the last weeke M<sup>r</sup> Perepont, M<sup>r</sup> S<sup>t</sup> Johns, Evelin and yong Fiennes, were absent from the House and mett the L<sup>d</sup> Say at Wallingford, where they debated their condition, and concluded it necessary to entertayne a treaty with his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, thereby (if possible) to disengage him from the Scottish interest, and they pitched upon M<sup>r</sup> Ashburneham as the fittest instrument to effect it, which, if it succed, then they intend to patche uppe a peace, otherwaies by the same meanes they resolute to fright him into an apprehension of the danger of his person, and giue way under hand for his escape, and therein to destroy him. This I haue from a good hand, but cannot belieue the last parte, his Ma<sup>tie</sup> life beeing in most mens judgment there greatest security. Affaires in Pembroke-shire are still good, Payer haueing lately taken a frigatt of 36 peeces, and an other ship. There are 2,000 foote and 1,000 horse ordered to bee sent to reduce them if they can, but I heere they are not forward to march nor hasty to fight. One Ougan,<sup>a</sup> of that County, a Parl<sup>t</sup> man, is to haue the superintendancy of this

<sup>a</sup> Wogan.



force. From Ireland 'tis confidently reported that Inchequin and 1648, April 4.  
 others haue joyned with the moderate Catholike party and declared  
 for the King and against the 2 Houses heere. Yett to collour this  
 reuolt a person lately made an affidait in the Common House that  
 Inchequin was still faithfull to them. From the Army I heere the  
 head quarter is to bee at Bury, and that Ireton and most of the  
 horse are about Newarke poynting Northward, yett 6,000 foote and  
 1,500 horse are priuately resolved on to bee brought into the Citty  
 under the command of Crumwell, if they bee so tame as to admitt  
 them. At this time they are at distance enough and I hope will  
 no more embrace slauery. I am sorry for the differences there,  
 and the powerfull influence of the Presbytery, who euer were and  
 wilbee enemies to Monarchy; but I hope your wisdom and courage  
 will preuent and reduce them to order, otherwise I much feare the  
 stability of your conditions, espetially haucing shewen any affection  
 or compassion to the captiue King, whome they so much hate and  
 feare. My Lord, I must subscribe my selfe

Your faithfull humble seruant,

282.

4 Aprill, 1648.

111. LORD [?] FRASER TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

1648, April.

MY LORD,

The concurent letters of Lo: German, Lo: Culpeper, and Gooffe,  
 euer since going frome hence, conclud great assistance of monie  
 (Gooffe being gone with the tuo great Croun jeales to pane at the  
 Lumbar, Amsterdam, for a 100,000), first to Brusels to soliseit saiff  
 conduct through Flanders for the Prince of Walles and his traine,  
 and thence to Holland, amonition and shepis, Prince of Walles  
 being most willing to goe a longe with the counsailes of Kingdom of  
 Scotland, why your Lordship will knoe by the Frynch letters send  
 (by land sea) to your Lordship. We are all astande, King's freinds  
 being in great want for mony, and men more, as Sir Mar: Langdell,

1648, April. who is in London with danger of his liberty being sold at 1,000<sup>pd</sup>. If with all his Mat<sup>is</sup> freinds to gott<sup>a</sup> money to dispach all frome London to,<sup>b</sup> which will proufe to latte for King's freinds and Scottes. J. Berkeley goes away with Ormont for France, and from thence to Iyrland, wher affaires gooes weill, Inchequen and Ormond being accorded. Antrim is reported (Poopes Nuncion and his part being ouercome) to be sent to France to inuit the P. of Walles to Iyrland, bot ther is no sure ground nore aprehension for ani such thing. It is more lyke Lord Denbigh will be gone to France to dissuaid the P. of Wal[les] from goeing for Scotland. Lord Holland is in danger heire, and therfore intends to goe to Holland. If your Lordship is desyrose to be faifefull in your great dissinge, sesse<sup>c</sup> Carlel and Berwick and cume in with your armie of 10,000, for in so doe<sup>d</sup> intrest as is nou in your pouer, for upon tymous march mani considerabill garisones as Bristo, Exeter, Waymoth, Plimmouth, Pembrouk, will declare for the King. Northumberland and uther Lords ar nou much of your part. I desyre you wold give me a hint of the tyme your armie will be in its march, for King's party labore much to knoe the tyme of your first action. La[dy] Carlell heath send your Lordship a packet frome the Queen, and I sent the duplicatt by sea. His Mat<sup>ie</sup> offered to send a message to Parl[iament], bot Hamond refused to send itt. The King is in much payne and impatience to reseaeue letters frome Scotland, itt being all the comfort left him. Sir Marmedouk Langdon heath a considerabell partie of Parll: horse redy to cume in to him upon your march to England, and greate hoope of getting Hull, the gouernour hauing sent to him to treat. Wat Montague was severely reprehended by a letter from Queen's hand, as being to actife to make Popish party to adhere to Crumwell. He is satisfied and laboures the contra. Thes ar the most considerabill things I haue communicat to your Lordships, frome your Lordship's most devoted seruant,

FRASER.

<sup>a</sup> Sic.<sup>b</sup> Sic.<sup>c</sup> i.e. seize.<sup>d</sup> Sic.

## 112. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

1648, April.

*MY LORD,*

Your letters (though neuer so passionate *to freends here*) are insignificant *if actions be delayed any longer*; for by such disputes, scruples, and procrastinating distempers your best and most cordiall friends *suspectes your poure, the King's part your affection*, and your enemies *to contemne all you say or doe*, insomuch that [at] the returne of *Mr Marishall* (who is generallie beleecued to be sent up from *Arg[yll]* and the goodly ministers, to agree the Presbiterians and Independents, to exclude all other partees and interest whatsoever, to settle their owne) the Independent grandees had diuers signall meetings to compose all differences amongst themselves, which though they have not effectuated yet it is verie like they may expect to be successfull wher it is demonstrable they shall have no deliverance from yow, which they beginne much to suspect; yet good friends are verie diligent to prevent this accord untill they know the ultimate of your resolutions. If letters of this weeke had been as sanguine as those of the former, the Independent courage had been as low as now erected, but their resolutions (Euripus like) ebbs and flowes seven tymes a day, and I am confident that Lord Inchequin and Taffee haveing declared both their armies (consisting of 10,000 gallant men) for his Ma<sup>tie</sup> will much abate of the feircenes against the Cavaleers and moderate Scots. The Citie is not at all forward to contribute assistance to the Independent designe, and they are now as much terrified from Wales; for Langhorne's force and the Governor's of Pembroke hath seized upon the Commissioners and committed them prisoners, taken Fleming's canon, killed divers of his men, seized Denbigh Castle and victualled it, declareing for Prince of Wales, and generallie all Wales' affection will suddenly move that way. Nor is it conceaved a busines of litle weight to reduce the forces in Wales, for they increase each weeke. *If your armie doe not march very suddenly into England, Scotland will loose her honour and reeward of restoring*



1648, April. [*the*] King and his part, for your delays hath made us all dispaire of receaueing any assistance from Scotland; and, therefore, as you tender the island of Scotland, make your actions speake your affection and courage, for to my knowledge Lo: Germin's letters by this post seemes to me that in France they beginne to<sup>a</sup> dispeare assistance, and nothinge can redeeme and begett beleefe but action. [*The*] inclosed is from the King to your Lo<sup>pp</sup>, who hath unfortunately miscaried in his attempt to gett out thorow a window, and three of his servants are turned away.

Prince Rupert and Lord Percy have fought in this maner. The Prince conceaving himself injured by something said by Percy, and the Prince of Wales the next day hunting in the forrest with his meniall servants, Prince Rupert finding opportunitie rode up (being accompanied with W<sup>m</sup> Murray and his own page) to Percy, and laying hand on his bridle told him he should presently give him satisfaction. Percy answered that he would doe that without laying his hand on his bridle, and lighting both from their horses (it is reported the Prince had advantage in the lenth of his sword, which in France is conceaued no aduantage), after the second passe Percy was run thorough the fleshie part of his right side much backwards, and in that passe they closed, and falling both to the ground Percy's hand was hurt; upon this Will. Murray, who was desired to stand by, came in and separated them. The wound is voyde of danger, and they both haueing foughten valiantly, the Prince, being as skilfull in his weapon as valiant, had only the advantage of successe. I send yow here inclosed (which I obtained from a good hand) the summe of the Levellers' moderate desires, ther being at this houre 7 or 8 Regiments in the Armie which will adhere to these prop[ositions]. When our reverend clergy shall persue this happy forme of government which our new Reformers intends to bring in I doubt not but they will in tyme joyne heartily with all loyall men to assert the established forms of the land.

I had manie other particulars to acquaint you, but the want of tyme compells me to referre them to a new occasion.

<sup>a</sup> Decyphered "the."

*Your letter comes not to my hand but two dayes after the tyme, and* 1648, April.  
 so I can not acquaint our French friends what is doing in Scotland. Direct yours to Mr James Adames, our merchant in Broadstreete, and to be sent in M<sup>r</sup> John Donn his packet, with command to deliver it to me.

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 113. ——— TO ———.

1648, April 10.

Yours of the 21 I recieude, which was most welcome to me, we hauing languisht diuers weeks euen to a degree of despairing. I confes I was almost forced out of my owne opinione by the impatient spirits of thos that I knew *were better informed, and* would not be conuinst by other reasone then ther oune, belieuing that to be infaliable. Lett Lauderdale knowe in this he may be faltie; we are not soe steadie but that wee most be supported by fresh hops, for your diuisions begets great deuersitys of oppinions amongst us; and although we know by experience the reall power of uertue is not great amongst men, it takes not off our wonder from those wee belieue very infamos amongst you. I looke upon it as a judgment rather then a treacherie. God will not permitt them to haue any part in so good a work. We say they haue recieude ther pay. Certainly they are not compedent judges of an imortall reward that haue soe easilye departed from the trust lodgde in them, the busynes being soe ful of honor and pietie. Euery hand and every honest heart, I hop, will be readie to assist you. If number be few, your cause is so good we already giue you the victorie. To speak truth I belieue you find small opposition, more help then you expect, and a guiltie cowardly ennemie. Tell Lauderdale I am preparing to meet him in France if I knew when he wold land ther, but had rather se him here, if it might be shortly. The Duck is both wise and stowt, as I hier. I wish he may make all his ennemies liars. I besiech him to be really kind to Queen and beg of Lanerick to assist him, and that I may know when you meane to come neerer, who to my last am

Your

C. D.

1648, April 10. *The Kings partie here more firme to you cion<sup>a</sup> our Presbyterians, except Marshall, who is a great friend to Scottish Church, thinking that the most independent in the world.*

10<sup>o</sup> April.

1648, April 11.

114. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

*I receaved a letter verie latly from King who is as impatient of your long delayes as you are sorry for the occasion. To comfort your Lo: and honest Lauderdaill be confident that K. hath ane opinion, and I hope ane occasion will be afforded him to escape out of the Castle. Be<sup>b</sup> resolved to come for Scotland or to Holland. Ther are foure seruants about him, who are interested to designe and assist in this attempt. There is ane engyne made to pull out the barre of his chamber windowe, and so to gett over the wall, hauing two gentlemen Islanders of his only to carey him away to his ship; the designe is resoneable and I hope it will be successfull. I haue a good intelligence with Hamond, giues him a good account of affaires with you, and endeouours to keep him in good oppinion of Scotland, of which at this tyme he is most jealousy, though verie constant to undertakinge to Se. Com<sup>s</sup>. I [hope] your Lo<sup>v</sup> will not communicat this on to anie bot your best freinds and Laderdaill. I shall not faile to lett you knowe of the effect of it, which God grant may prosper.*

London, 11<sup>th</sup> Aprill, 1648.

Decypher this note with your own hand.

[Addressed:—For your selfe.]

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps a cypher is mistaken, and the word should be "than."

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps it should be "the."



## 115. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

1648, April 11

MY EVER HONORED LORD,

The honor you doe mee in communicateing affaires thence eyther by your selfe or my freind is an abundant satisfacion for any weekly omission, considering the weight I perceiue at this tyme lyes uppon you. Your freinds heere are well satisfied *that you have excludet the clergy and intend to act without them, but are much trobled at your differences, because all your intentions for his Maties restitution are the same, wherefore they hope this amongst friends will bee no stop to your resolutions.* Belieue it, *much of our hopes depends on your celerity, though not all, for so generall a discontent is risen against them heere as that I belieue shortly more will bee against them openly as well as Poyer.* For the tumult heere on Sunday and yesterday I shall referre you to my letter to M<sup>r</sup> Robertson and other relations, yett shall say *had it been a designe as it was an accident it could not haue failed as it did.* It is feared in this conjuncture part of the Army will be drawn in to awe the Citty, *yet that will advantage you and make your entry more easy.* To morrow the 2 Houses sett againe; the chiefe of them haue been hatching during this recesse, but whether in regard of the tumult they will produce is uncertaine. They are much deuided in theire counsell and ends, and as one of them sayd lately they would driue on their particular interests so long apart as the King would come without clogs and fetters, and act his owne part. Poyer and Rees Powell goe on successfully in Wales, and this day their declaration is published against the 2 Houses in vindication of the King; what numbers they haue wee are not certaine, but are assured the whole contrey is for them, and 'tis sayed they are at least 2,000 in a body, to suppress whome (in regard they cannot or dare not spare any considerable part of the Army to march against them, as it was lately ordered) uppon Satterday at a Common Councell it was moued to haue 5,000 auxillaries sent out of the Citty against

1648, April 11. them, which was absolutely denied. Plymouth refuseth still to admitt Sir Hardres Waller for theire Gouvernour, and part of the Garrison of Pendennis beeing called out to be disbanded as supernumeraries, came with theire fellowes to the place where espetiall Com<sup>rs</sup> appoynted to pay and discharge them mett, and there seysed upon them and their money, and brought them prisoners into the Castle. What effect this hath I heere not. Upon jealousies the magazine is remoued from Couentry to Warwicke. This day 'tis reported that the Gar[rison] of Oxon hauing order to expell the D<sup>rs</sup> and Heads of Houses out of the Colledges, the Schollars and Gownesmen haue risen and mastered them, and 'tis said Gloucester is enclined to doe as much to the garrison there. Of the King I heere only that he is well and merry. This is all the accompt at this time I can giue of affaires heere, and therefore I shall end and subscribe my selfe

Your most faithfull and humble seruant,

282.

11 Aprill, 1648.

1648, Aprill 18.

116. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

Your expresse was as welcome to all here as long expected and seasonable. The Indep[endents], till Irish good newes distracted ther resolutions, beganne to be *insolent and to attempt great things upon the Cittie*, and had drawne neer to the City some 6,000 horse and foot, which, *upon better consideration*, being as I conceaue *deterr'd by the success of Poyer, Powell, and Butler*, now 40,000 in armes, and resolved to *oppose all forces by what authority soever sent without the King's or the Prince's that coms into Wales*, they have withdrawen, and this day a solemne Councell of warre is called at Windsor, wher it is *conceaue'd the grandees will resolve, being made desperatt from the disaffection [of] Essex, which crossing their designe, what course to take with the Cittie, which is in great danger to be destroyed, and made unusefull to the Kings affaires or yours;*

for all here concludes *that the Armie in Indep[endent] recta ratio* 1648, April 18. *must either disarm the Cittie and secure all in whom they cannot confide, and it is believed (so great are the dissentions and so base are the cittiesens) that they will submitt to be disarmed, and then Scotland loses the best foundation they had, and will be esteemed the cause of their ruine, promising assistance and suspending them by delays, that your votes and demands be not seconded with a brisk and tymly march of a gallant armie. You will not lose the cittie, but the honour of the deliuerance, for the Kings partie are most impatient and must cast themselves into Wales for security. Your best freinds intreats and supplicats for your speedy assistance, and better were it to give the clargie an Parliamentarie promise and assurance (though you should give them the publict faith) that these Babell Prasbiterium shalbe sartum tectum to them to their union and concurrence, then by their litigious and nyse reasons and<sup>a</sup> deprived of the honour of so great an exployt. Your opinion in resolving to goe a great lenth to satisfie them is well approved of here, and I thinke you need not stand [to] what you promise, for haveing once your Armie a body it wilbe governed by other counsell then Presbitery, and therfore go on with your resolution, for the King's party are not solicitous how you come, but when, and in what number. It is more evident that Indep[endents] have a great content<sup>b</sup> of your Armie, and resolves once to try your courage, though the next day they shall give his Ma<sup>tie</sup> a personall treaty. Pendennis hath declared against Par<sup>lt</sup> and Hardresse Waller lyes at a distance, unwilling to provoke the Cornish who are well [?] affected. It is verily beleaved, and from good handes, that Lords Say, Southampton, and Mr. Ashbarnham lately agreed to try if his Ma<sup>tie</sup> would receaue prop[ositions] from them; and it is reported that his Ma<sup>tie</sup> should have answered, haveing been frustrat in his expectation by all partyes, Scots, Presb[byterians] and Ind[ependents], he resolved to follow the counsell of his two Parl<sup>ts</sup>. I have your letters to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> who longs to hear from your Lo<sup>p</sup>. These are all which this place affords of yore consideration,*

<sup>a</sup> *Sic.*<sup>b</sup> Probably "contempt."



1648, April 18. more than the cavalier prisoners in the Tower and others are to be sent to Warwick, Wallingford, and Windsor Castles, and a thousand foote and 200 horse to be quartered in the Tower, and as manie at St James's.

London, 18<sup>th</sup> Aprill, 1648.

117. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY EUER HONORED LORD,

The accompt I received in yours of the 13 present not only confirms honest men in the opinion they had of the reality of yore intentions and adds so much courage as now only to expect opportunities to assist and serve you, of which yee will see speedy effects. Affaires heere every day looke more pleasant then other, and although I must retract what I wrote in my last concerning Oxford, because the Earle of Pembroke had been there, and by force thrust out some of the Heads of Houses and imprisoned others, yett it hath but added unto (not quenched) the generall hatred all both there and elsewhere haue against the Armie and 2 Houses, who on Wednesday mett againe at Westminster, and that day only swore the new Keepers of the Seal, and gave thanks to the souldiers for suppressing the poore boys who this day are tryed at Guildhall by a Commiss[ion] of Oyer and Terminer. It is question whether they will, if condemned, execute any, for the Citty is no less malignant then formerly; yett to keepe them at awe 500 foote and some horse are drawn into the Tower, and most of their Army quartered a few howers march about the Citty, so that I believe the sceane of disorder may lye heere. On Thursday to their unspeakable greife came the news of the Lo: Inchquin's revolt. The manner you will find in the printed relations. This caused them presently to committ his sonne, a youth of 13 yeares, to the Tower; and then a motion was made that all members of the House, Army, and all others, should take an oath that this was a free Parl<sup>t</sup>, but Mr.

Perepont alledging that it was against that freedome they pretended 1648, April 18 due to all men and a destrust of themselves, it proceeded no farther at that time. On Satterday others of that party proposed the selling the K's rich hangings in the Tower to defray the charges of that garrison, which yong Sr H. Vane opposed, saying they were the marques of regallity, which yett they might liue under, and therefore not wanttonly to be sold (being of so great value and ornament) for litle. Much debate there was, and uppon diuision of the House it was carried in the negative, though, as my author said, all the old courtiers were for the sale of them. Affaires in Wales are in this condition: Poyer and Powell have mustered of the Counties of Pembroke, Carmarthen and Cardigan, at least 8,000 men to bee ready for their defence, and many persons of quality of Glamorganshire are joyned with them. Ougan is going thence this day to offer them 10,000<sup>li</sup>, but carries neuer a penny with him howeuer to suppresse them. If they can, all their outlying Reg<sup>ts</sup> are to be drawne togeather, amongst which Col. Thorney's of horse, beeing come to Lincolne, were comanded to march, which they did unwillingly, as far as Leicester, and there desired to be disbanded, and haue 2 months pay, which they said they should but have when they had hazarded more. At length they got drinke, and begunne the K's health to Thorney, and told him if hee would not pledge it he was no Collonell for them. On Satterday late at night he came post to giue this accompt to the Generall. It is most certaine theire affaires are in disorder in the West, and that Plymouth and Pendennis stand neutrall. Yesterday there passed in 5 howers no less then 7 posts through Brainford for London, but the weather being so ill no man yett tells mee what they bring. I heere from a good hand that Mr. Ashburnham hath within 14 days past been twice from the Indipendant party with the E. of Southampton to gett him to goe to the King to endeavor to reconcile the K. and them, but the Earle refuseth, except hee haue publike leaue from the 2 Houses and the K's consent and approbation, neyther of which I find they are publicly inclined to

1648, April 18. doe; for one of the cheifest amongst them said lately that they had endeaoured what they could to haue a peace, but now no body would trust them, and they would trust no body, and therefore were resolved to put it to a battell if yee came in, as they are confident yee will. To conclude, my L<sup>d</sup>, it is now euident wee shall speedily haue the beginnenge eyther of war or peace, and therefore, in confidence of your fauour, I doe propose that if the first take place *I may be so disposed to moue as by going to the Prince or otherwise as I may serue you and the publike, and if the second, that I may be with his Ma<sup>tie</sup> as Odart was at Hampton Court, whereby I may haue the opportunitie by my zeallity and actions to euidence how much I am and shall bie of you as yours,*

The most obliged and humblest seruant,

282.

18 Aprill, 1648.

118. MR. MUNGO MURRAY TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY LORD,

*We grow impasiente heer and thinkes that the bakwardnes of Scotland will lous ther pertaining end. Thay ar weray industrius to haue althinges in redenis for your declaring. Yestardays letters from Scotland was not weray plesinge to us, but wei are in great houpes of beter. The last weeke, three leages from this, my Lorde German had a meitinge with Mr. Holes (? Hotes) and som others that com from Holande with Doctor Gof. It is belied ther were some from Englande mete them. Then com two gentelmen from my Lorde Northumberlande to uistt my Lo: Persie, bot that was not al the reisone they ar heir stil. Ther ar mane that wold rather the King should periset then the notes to be his restorers. Mr. Ashburnhame is agane tretinege with Crumwell, bot it is half treson here to speike of it, and, so to say, that her tresor<sup>a</sup> can doe ane thing amis. Ormonte and Digbe ar now aded to the counsal, which giues sum distaste. The*

<sup>a</sup> *Sic.*



*Irish Commissioners* ar like to goe from *this weray discontent*, bot 1648, April 18. not so sudenly as they once resolved. My Lord Montros has left this contrie without taking his leife. It is conseed he is in Brussells. His faforeite Mr. Porter hes mede his adreeses there. I wish he may stay ther for his is gon from hence haylay discontente at this courte and great threteninges. What they will leght I know not, caus hei hes non giuen him heir bot that the Queen and Prince wold not folow his projectes, bot as hei sede thay wolde folow the aduays of his enemes, and there the Queen has giuen him mor since his cumminge hether then, if hei hede ben pesable in Scotland, he could a spent out of his Marquesade. Hei has hede aboute 3,000 and 500 pistols and more intended for him. At my first cumminge to this plas thay wer something aprehensife of him, for hei keepes a corospondence *with Crumwel*. I houe ther is no great caus of fears what hei *can do in Scotland*. I should thinke myselfe hape if I could serue your Lo: in ane thinge, for it shall be my studay and indeuour to express myself,

My Lord,

Your Lo: faithfull and humble seruant,

MOUNGO MURRAY.

S<sup>t</sup> Germans, the 18 of Aprayll, 1648.

[*Addressed:—*For the Earl of Lanrick.]

119. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

1648, April 24.

MY LORD,

The 20th current *I did send your lettere to the King and am in some feare of me messenger, for the Duck of Yorks escape hath putt all places into a strict search; but at his returne I shall speedily dispatch your answer. The Duck is gone for Holland, but this lett not any knowe except your brother, for he is to be concealed till the Kings pleasure is knowne. Jack Owen is gone with him. I am in noe small doubt that this may obstruct in effecting the Kinges. For*

1648, April 24. newes I shall reffer them to the copious intelligencers of this age, and thinke it enough to trouble you with the desyres of my beinge allwayes acknowledgd by my actinge for you,

My Lord,

Your Lo<sup>ps</sup> most humble servant,

499.

Aprill 24.

1648, April 25.

120. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY EUER HONORED LORD,

As yours of the 18 confirms your former, and giues us assurance that by your assistance wee may once againe bee happy, and I must needs say that if the perversnes of your opposers there doe but retard awhile the quicknes of your actions eyther our party heere will haue the first markes of honour or for want of diuersion bee destroyed, which I am sure you cannot delight in, though as yett I cannot say but our affaires seem euery day more prosperous then other; for the Welsh still keepe theire ground and gayne uppon theire enemies, beeing at this time 4,000 in a body, besides at least 10,000 more listed. They haue with them most of the considerable persons of those partes, as the Stradlings, Sir Henry Lingen, Sir Ch: Keymis, and others, and, farther to animate them, M<sup>r</sup> Generall Langherne went hence on Friday towards them in a disguise, whose usage heere will lett them see what they are to trust to if ouercome. Prichard, Governor of Cardiffe, wauers because the Generall heth designed on other for his place; if he quitt them and joyne, these contreys will be entire and able to offend as well as defend themselues. 'Tis reported that Capt. Swanley and Penne are come with theire ships into Milford to the assistance of Poyer, but this is certaine that all the Navy is discontented and wauering. The towne of Plymouth heth admitted Sir H. Waller, but the fortes (which are of the only consequence) stand out, and 'tis most true that Pendennis does the same. The Essex pet[ition] for a

personall treatie and disbanding the Army is actiuey pursued, and <sup>1648</sup> April 25. was on Sunday last read and generally subscribed in euery parish throughoutt that county. They are to meet on Thursday next and to bring it to the 2 Houses, who are much troubled at it, hauing (to no purpose) used all endeauours to crush it. By this example Norff. Suff. Hertford and Cambridge, 'tis said, are preparing such an other. The Leuellers are on foote againe espetially against Cromwell and theire cheife officers, who they say haue cosened them and are now packing away to secure themselues. But I doe not yett see this effect, but the contrary; for finding themselues in a generall odium, and that they cannot bee sure of the Citty, they haue at a Councell of War resolued speedily to disarme them, then to demandaund and leuy no lesse then a milion on them; and, if they refuse, to force and plunder them, and with this new acquisition to pay and reinforce theire old Army and to raise a new one under the command of the E. of Denbeigh to secure the Citty and reforme the Parliament in the absence of the other to bee employed against yee and the Welsh. Yesterday and this day the Citty haue mett in Common Councell. What they haue resolued I doe not yett heare, but I feare theire courage, the Army beeing so neere. On Friday at 9 at night the D. of Yorke made an handsome escape from S<sup>t</sup> James and is belieued to bee long ere this safely arriued in France or Holland. Col. Bamfield is said to bee gonne with him. Yesterday the House of Commons mett in a full body according to the summons, but nothing was donne but calling ouer the House. What they haue donne this day I haue not yett heard. This is all I can say at present, only shall desire (when the time shall be fitt) that I may be in your memory touching the perticulars I expressed in my last, and that I alwise shall bee

Your Lo<sup>ps</sup> obliged and humblest seruant,

282.

April 25th, 1648.

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1648, April 28.

## 121. LORD BYRON TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY LORD,

*We have stayed your servant in expectation of more than we can gett, the particulars I have written to my Lord Lauderdaill. I confesse to your Lo. I feare the moderates [more] than the Leuelers. I thinke Argyll's designes were neuer so dangerous as at this present. If your freinds be no wiser then ours I am confident the King is ruined, for if the Parleament of England can ingage your nation upon such demands as they know the King will never grant I am sure he neither hath nor can ever haue any thinge to help him. But I hope your Lo<sup>ps</sup> greate goodnesse and galantry to the King will defend him from so high a miserie. I biseech your Lo<sup>p</sup> present my most humble seruice to Duck Ha[milton] and tell him that I was more troubled to heare that he did nothing than that the Chancellor did ill, but I am deliuered of all those feares, and am much pleased that his Lo<sup>p</sup> hath a part so very worthy of him. I shall esteem it as an extreordinary misfortune if your Lo<sup>p</sup> doth not receiue me, and belieue me to be very faithfully*

Your humble seruant.

April the 28.

1648, April 28.

## 122. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY LORD,

Wee detained your servant to returne you the results of the great meeting of the House of Commons upon the 24 and subsequent dayes, which is worthie of *your most serious consideration*; for Thursday 27 beinge the day appointed for the great question whether Religion should be first settled or the kingdome. This was variously debated; but a petition from the City, occasioned from the affidavit of a man who heard Ireton and others affirme that they would disarme and fyne London a million, secure the

suspected persons, and force them to comply with the counsalls and 1648, April 28. wayes of the Armie. This affidavit hath so animated the City that they have upon their petition obtained liberty of the Lords and Commons to putt the City in a posture of warre, demanded Shippon for their Ma: and liberty to put up their chaines. Northumb[er-land] and Manc[hester] appeared verie heartily to have the City petition granted, though vigorously opposed by the Independent party. This hath very much *encouraged King party and yours, and I hope will keepe our sad hearts till you shall be here thorow the said destructive delays for to elude the<sup>a</sup> preuent the forseene consequences of the coming in of your armie.* The House hath verie unreasonably to *King and your affaires (only to destroy King more cunningly and soberly and take all just cause from you to come in) as they now by<sup>b</sup>* first voted that the Kingdome should be settled before Religion. The Presbeter[ian] partty caried this with above 67 votes against Indep[endents], who, to *please Argyll and the Clergie, to raise disentions, and to keep the Scots att home,* would settle Religion first, though it be *the least of these thoughts;* and this day Friday, in a very full House, much tyme was spent in stating of the question how they would maintaine the Government by King Lords and Commons. The Indep[endents] would have it they intended or desired to be governed by King Lords and Commons. Others would have it to be governd by King Lords and Comons according to the fundamentall law. This displeased much the Indep[endents] and the more rigid Presb[byterianians], as therby implicitly implying the Government by K. Lords spirituall and temporall. After much cavill it was putt to the question and voted that they would manteine the Gover[nment] by King Lords and Comons, and was caried against Indep[endents] by 45 votes, ther being verie great heat in the whole debate; many Indep[endents] voted with Presb[byterianians] in this, as Pierpoint, Vane, and others. This day afternoone *there great designe was more palpable, for they have appointed that to morrow Satterday the materials of the Pro-*

<sup>a</sup> *Sic.*<sup>b</sup> Query for "be."

1648, April 28. p[ositions] of the two kingdomes presented at Newcastle shalbe the subject of the setleing of the kingdome, and that it shall be lawfull for anie member to move any thing that may conduce for a new application to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> notwithstanding the former votes that no application should be made. In all these votes it is most evident<sup>a</sup> *their grand designe is to take all just occation from the comeing in of Scots armie and to reassume the old prop[ositions] (against which they beleewe Scots will not nor cannot except) and give King a personall treety upon them in there way, where King and Scots shall obtain little or no part is their designe, and I am confident that all things will be desposed and consulted upon to bring this designe about, being plausible and specious and almost satisfactorie to King's desire, and if Independents can find safety herein they will concurre herein and all England applaude the conclusion of a peace without Scot. Haueing thus freely stated the designe of the Parleament I shall give you the thoughts of your freinds and mine super rem totam, and committ them to your serious consideracion. Indep[endents], Presb[byterians], and all truly observed that it was folly<sup>b</sup> in your poure (if you had come in be tymes with an unanimous and vigorous armie to England as you promised your patient freinds.) They expected it as much from your interest and honor as their owne preservation to give them the law, setle peace, King, Religion, and obtaine your owne end, and to be reuenged on the comon enemies of Religion, King, and Scotland. How Scotland hath lett passe the honor and advantage of this is better knoune to your Lo<sup>p</sup> then to me; yett if your armie will come in before xiiii. dayes, making good your resolutions and receauing King's freinds, yow may be confident to obtaine all these and greater things; for the distempers of the Houses (to see their former votes eluded and Presb[byterians] lately excluded now so numerous to carie all votes with a high hand) will grow suddenly to a great fire, and Crumwell being equally angrie with City and Presb[byterians] is beeleeved will once more bring up his armie of saints to purge the House and quaille the City, unles the peticion of*

<sup>a</sup> Two cyphers follow, decyphered "Lord Treassurer."

<sup>b</sup> fully.



Essex (the summe of your demands) signed and to be deliuered by 1648, April 28. 24,000 the 4<sup>th</sup> May, and the warlike posture of the City prevent not his designe. Langhorne is reported this day to have given a great blow to Parl<sup>t</sup> forces and expelled them Wales, which is now associating to oppose all power that is not from King and Prince. Norfolke is almost in a tumult by reason of a sad accident in Norwich occasioned by two troops of Horse called in by the Sectaries to suppress some Presb[yterians] who would not suffer their Major to be caried away to London. In this tumult, while the people endeavoring to arme themselves from the common Magazine (in which was 80 barrells of powder), it is beleived Sectaries sett fire, which hath destroyed, killed, and hurt 200 people by great losse of goods and houses.

London, 28 Aprilis, 1648.

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123. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY LORD,

*The K[ing's] designe of escaping is still hopefull, though some persons entrusted are suspected, as Doucet, Itas and Fyrbrace, and remoued. Others are still ther, and no less faithfull. Q. and P. were latly despaired of your affections, but your late votes hath revived him,<sup>a</sup> and are as satisfyed with your Lo. as unsatisfied with Chan[cellor]. P. hath sent a Commission, great civilities, and offers to Welsh and Langhorne. All heir verily beleeves that Parl<sup>t</sup> will send assistance and ammuniteon and armes to Arg[yll] to oppose K's party, if your Lo. despatch not before action. Affaires heir growes to a great perfection, and therfore you are to send a messinger once a weeke, or else your intelligence will be unseasonable and unusefull. God prosper all your endeavores.*

London, 28 Aprill.

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<sup>a</sup> Sic.

1648, April 30.

## 124. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

You had almost terefyde mee att the beginning of your letter of the 18. I see ther is great cause to comiseratt the struglings you haue to encounter with. Reason and honesty has litle operation upon *uncapable subjects*, much lesse compassion towards the *misfortune of their naturall soueraing*. Since some amongst you desire not to giue a period to this tragedie, it is probable it may be determinide in their owne persons when least expected by them. The King's constancie must make them blush for shame. Old fox, Lord Say, and all the stratagems of his fraternitie, haue noe operation upon the magnanimitie of his spirit, and that to your sad reproach all the failings come from you. Your friends haue been enter-tayned with uncertenties, Queen and Prince resisting all the ill impressions by which it has been indeuored they should deuide from you. Heer has been ane excellent disposition in the whole kingdome to receaue you; yet I would not haue you soe vainly confident to belieue if they can carie on the work without you, that they will not be readyer to exclud you then to receaue your assistance. The posture of Cittie, Parleament, and Armie you haue from them knowes best, and all the prejudices of your lost tyme will bee told you. This truth I only will present: if you mend not your pace you are like to haue litle interest in the order of our accomodation. Your wisdom, courage, and integrity<sup>a</sup> ane other week disgest such an act of oblivion without you recouer by swifter motion; therefore, my deare Lord, away with all particuler interest, and rather folishlie and desperatly aduenture then tamely and insensibly suffer the honor of your nation to be taken from you, and then only the ignominie of treacherie will bee your reward. Pardon my impatience, since it proceeds from me feare you are abused here and at home, and it will be yett your ruine if you be not prudent.

225: 311: 72: 31: 12: 34: 220: 37: 120: 207.

Last of Aprill.

<sup>a</sup> Something seems omitted here.

125. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

1648, May 2.

*MY LORD,*

*This week's resolutions and consultations here are as perplexed as the people is various, for Langhorne's late successes in Wales, and the unitie and advantage hott and giddie brained people promises themselves from a gallant action hath moued Sir Tho: Fairfax (or rather his toutour Crumwell) this day to write to the Houses desiring their consent to grant the Citie their desire, and that he resolves to withdraw his foote and horse Regiments from Whitehall and the Mewes, and that the City might be contented (which is now much courted) in all their demands, and desired to guard the Parliament, that Crumwell resolve to march into the South Wales to suppress the Welsh insolence with 5 regiments of horse and on of foot, which is agreed unto, and the rest of the armie to march North, as is conceaued to oppose your designe; for this day the newes of Berwick's being possessed by the Cavalier English much perplexes the Parliament, who looks upon it as a Scottish cunning resolution to resent it in tyme; and it is reallie beleeeved that Fairfax and Crumwell (though they pretend South Wales, as<sup>a</sup> being more eident and nearer home) resolves to march thorow Lancashire to Lord Byron into the Northerne countys, and to prevent your march, which will be no hard busines unlesse your armie be in greater readyness then yett appeares; and it is beleeeved that the armie is invited to come in by the aduerse party, which now by their dissention is like to sacrifice there cuntrie to there obstinat and perverse will. The Parliament here endevores to reconcile their privat dissentions; and if Presb[byterian]s and Indep[endents] should unite your party would fynd strong opposition; however I hope well of the Cittie, and if it be constant you need apprehend no danger. Your affaires here are of that nature as you must haue a more speedy correspondence then by the ordinarie post.*

2<sup>d</sup> May, 1648.

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<sup>a</sup> Wrongly decyphered "and."



1648, May 4.

## 126. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

Since the Parliament and armie are satisfied (that *armie*<sup>a</sup>, *ammunition* and *mony*, rather than *affection* and *goodwill*) of your resolution to assist the *King*, and fynding your divisions and ambition *theire* best freinds, they resolve to continue and foment them by giueing the head of that party all imaginable encouragment and assistance, and if possible to make a party presently appeare in armes in your *Kingdom*, for there are great expectation[s] here that *Argyll* will declare and act against the other party, haueing assurance that the trumpets of *Sion* will sound a hott charge for him, and indeed the vigiland and industrious *Enimie* [?] hath formed and projected these *designes*, haueing composed all their intestine divisions. The *leuelling* party and *Cromwell's* not being one, and resolved to owne all the votes, ordinances, and attempts of the present Parliament past and to come, and to liue and dy with the Parliament, yet this day it is said the Agitators hath a signall meetting at St Albons to promote the ancient impeachment against *Cromwell*, who with some others would have a *King* of their owne moulding against the more universall sense of the Armie. I dare not be positieue to affirme this, though my best correspondents have great beleeff that there will bee [a] notable breach between *Cromwellans* and *Leuellers*. Theire present and most usefull designe is to subject the *Cittie* which [the] Armie resolves to disarm garrisons and highly fyne (some say to a million), made them adhere and comply with the Armie against [the] King and all his freinds, and to keep them in order with this armie untill an armie of 20,000 be raised and comanded by *Denbigh*, of which I most suspect *Northumber[lan]*d, who is highlie discontented with *Duke of York's* going into *Holland*, which *Indep[endents]* makes great use of to animate his unconstant minde against *King* and *Scots*, who are now made the sole authors and fomenters of this new warre and Cavaleers, and there armie to be sent North, and in Scotland beleieve me they are industrious here, haueing sent a very strong body

<sup>a</sup> Sic.

1648, May 4.

of horse to suppress the forces now up in Wales (who declared too so[on] in hopes of your assistance and appearance in England), which must be destroyed unlesse your unexpected armie prevent the opinion of your march. Cromwell triumphs that he hath gott opportunitie to reduce Wales, and the more that Langhorne is gone to them who is gone with as much good affection to King's service as could be desired, and our best freinds here (the cheif instruments of his declaration) are much perplexed that they should be accessory to the [ruin] of so many persons who hath appeared in this Welch bussines. The City sate in Common Counsall all night upon an affidavit by one who heard Ireton and others say that the Armie was now on their march to disarme and plunder the Citty. It is uncertane what Citty will doe, resist or submit. I am more apt to beleve they will comply, because there is no probabilitie of your sudden march, which indeed will destroye the well affected here, and turne their affection into a perfect hatred of Scots and Caualliers too. They have petitioned Parliament to hang up their Citty chaines to keepe out the Horse. Yesterday was a verie full House, only the House was called and vote past that no bussines of moment should hereafter be moued or voted after 12 of the clocke. This vote Indep[endents] much opposed, it being theires and the diuell's hour of destruction to mankind. Saturday 22 a sever declaration is ordered to come out against Malignants, Cavill[iers] and suspected persons, to be disarmed, sequestred, and secured; but indeed it more concerns the Cittie, Scots, Presbyterian, who must bee disarmed, and are the notion of Malign[ants]. Warwick is much hated in Essex for endeavoring to suppress Essex petition (the same in terminis with your demands), which is signed with above 20,000 hands, and will be tendred with a verie great body of men.

The 4<sup>th</sup> of May.

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1648, May 9.

## 127. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY LORD,

Since W[ednesday? the]<sup>a</sup> Howse of Commons hath upon the suggestion of the adverse . . . . constant addresse of counsellors to Manchester . . . . labours to foment and perpetuat your present dissensions in prop[os]ing mock treatie with the King, prop[os]itions of Hampton Court, and endeavors promises ——— ? of the countys to assert Covenant, Presbitery, and other ingagments only to suspend and hinder the conscription. Your armie (the sole thing on earth, to providence to necessitat the present disposition of England to their loyaltie and dewtie) and march to England, that these by the armie which is now on their march (this day being their randezvous at Glocester, 7000 foote and horse) may have tyme to oppresse the honest Welsh (the greate designe of Crumwell), that the malignants may the more rationally be secured. These eight dayes confusedly motiond and voted inconsistent things in order to a new application, as that they will make the prop[os]itions of Hampton Court the subject of a Treaty, and that they will observe their engagements and desire your concurrence. But Essex petition (the summe of your desires) and the Malignan[ts] . . . . their endeouours, and this day the petition of London demanding the disposall of the Militia and the Tower (all which the House of Commons hath verie franklie granted because they durst not refuse it, but the Lords hath advysed upon it) hath still procrastinated their resolutions, that no positieve thing is agreed upon till they knowe the cleere counsellors of the army, which (as I am informed from the best hands) are to adhere to their engagement of Scon, depose Kinge, and persue their anarchicall design, no[t] regarding what the present Parliament bot<sup>b</sup> doe, resolveing to take King and Duke of Gl[os]ter with the confident party of both Houses along with them in the armie, for this or<sup>c</sup> aparent by the votes of Darby House

<sup>a</sup> Paper torn.<sup>b</sup> Query "may" or "might."<sup>c</sup> Query "is."



(agreed upon first at Windsore in a counsall of warre) giving Sir Tho: Fairfax a plenipotentiary comission of the Militia to raise what number and *secure and impres on what persons* he pleased. This motion was soone ynacted in the House of [Commons]. [It is] *detested by most, so that whatever the wote . . . [mo]st evident the armie resolves . . . way and to secure themselues, and . . . that you will be perplexed with feares and jealousies by Presb[byterian]s' motions and counsell who in few dayes will oppose.* Your armie hes as much anemositie as they haue the Cavaleers; and when the Citty, being made sui juris, shall once secure her feares, I much apprehend her neuterality, so that in humane consideration the security of Kinge, monarchy, and peace of the two nations, consists in the power yett and affection of Scots' armie with King's freinds will in despight of opposition compose these tumults of the disloyall popular spirits of both kingdoms. [Hold] fast to your principles, and be diligent that your assistance be opportune. You need not despaire of successe and honour, for the affections of all are towards you. [I have a] coppie of your declaration to Kinge, Queen, with Lauder[dale's] explication of the hard words (which indeed doth not at all stumble us, since Carlisle and Berwicke is the most orthodoxe commentarie thereon), and they were with him the next day. Just now Sir Tho: Fairfax was ordered by both Houses to march with his army Northward, giving both Houses intelligence of the necessity thereof by a letter of his owne, which is an argument that the armie intends to giue you a rout before a treaty. Wee shall not faile to give you the best intelligence. Carlil's letter being sent, 523 commanded me to acquaint you with this. God preserve and prosper all your counsell.

London, 9<sup>th</sup> May.

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1648, May 17.

128. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

*MY LORD,*

This week affords little or no newes more then Langhorne beginnes againe to assume force and vigor, haveing 3000 in a body, *but wanting armes and ammunicion (which I beleve are supplied from France)*, appointed *only to make good the passes and strongholds*. The victory obtained by Horton *much inferiour to what is reported*. I beleieve ther were 300 killed, 2000 prisoners, most clubmen. *The Parliament is much distracted, and more now than ever, for Surrey petition presented by 8000, of which 3000 came to the Parliament doors, demanding an answer, which both Houses labouring to procrastinat, the souldiers and countrey men quarrelled: 20 killed and 100 hurt. Their horses and money taken away, which hath so much enraged the countrey men that Kent, Surrey, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Middlesex are ready to associat and declare against Parliament and Army, which are highly threatened, and if your army once appeare the Independents' kingdome soone terminat, for with your apparence all our litle designs will turne to nothing, for in most of the countrey Cau[aliers] and Presb[byterian]s are equally disarmed, secured, and suppressed; and though the Citty obtained their Militia and the Tower, yet it is much suspected, haveing Skippon for their Governour, their affections will be cold and neutrall. Sir T. F. army hath marched [against?] Lord Byron<sup>a</sup>, days Northward, which will not be. He for himselfe will not be ready to march before the 22nd of May. King is very joviall and merry, and I am confident by this tym hath endeavored to make good what once I told you, all things being prepared thereto. Last night my house was searcht, and by an order from Master Speaker committed to prison to be examined by the Committee of Safety, upon a presumption of some grand discovery, which they are not like to make from me. My greatest grief is to be detained here, where I must be unprofitable in a prison. All your friends here*

<sup>a</sup> *Sic.*

*intreat you to make hast with the march of your army; untill then* 1648, May 17.  
*no good nor gallant thing can be expected from hence. Master*  
*Murray arrived att Deapth*<sup>a</sup> *the x<sup>th</sup> May. God Almighty preserve*  
*and direct all your counsell.*

London, 17 May, 1648.

129. ——— TO ———

1648, May 23.

185,

May 23, 1648.

I conceiue 'tis now high time for all frends to be acting, and as a good service to both kingdoms I have labored to putt the present fleete now att sea under the command of C. B.<sup>b</sup> whoe is a person of moste cleare affections to your instantte endeavores. I haue treated with him freely, and finde that he will moste willingly undertake it if a flette of 12 or 20 shippes, men of warr, can be borrowed or hired for some shorte time, that he may appeare in a conditione to protecte himselfe and his frendes that shall come in to him, untell the whole buisnesse be effected, wheareof he hath soe good assuerance that he will adventure his liffe and fortune in the buisnesse. There is a cartainty that many of *the seamen haue promised to bring many of the shippes wheneuer C. B. desyres it*, neither will the commanders in any of the shippes dare to disput againste him when *the seamen shall hear C. B. to be ingadged*. He and all his frendes whom he trustes doe beleue they may discharge the helpe which is to be borrowed with a moneths provisiones. C. B. doth expecte an invitatione from Sc[otland] for his undertakeing, subscribed by the grande committe, or soe many thareof as may be trusted with this secrett. My opinione is that you sattisffye him in every thing that may be objected in your first lettar, because of expecaitione,<sup>c</sup> thatt he shall haue whatt security that kingdome can giue, either for a commissione to acte by or for sattisfactione for disburse-

<sup>a</sup> Query Dieppe.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. Captain Batten.

<sup>c</sup> Sic.



1648, May 23. mentts or services, and that you ground this desire upon the conferrance had att your lodgeing in Coven Garden before your departure, and the latte assurance receved of his erneste desires to joyne with you in the restoreing K[ing] and settleing Sc[otland] and En[gland] accordeing to [the] Couenant. I haue written to *P[rince of Wales]* to further the buisnesse, alsoe [to the] *K[ing]*. *C. B. with his seamen* resolute to fetch [the] *K[ing]* from the Ile of Wighte. This will be without doubtte if he remaine. Other accomodations you will judge of. Pray cover your answer to this, and what else to C. B. in my *Ladie Carlielle[s]* letters, to whom I haue imparted the story, and from *that hand C. B.* will esteeme highly of it. I may probably furnish some shipeing heere, but thatt from abroad must be depended on to giue liue being to the worke. He will goe over wheather and when you aduisse. When your *armie* is come then if I haue the commissione once mentioned I will hartely serve you.

I am your moste humble sarvantte,

189.

1648, May 27.

130. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY LORD,

*Mr. Hamiltone* came in a very opportune time, both with his letters to [the] *Kings* friends and his information to the inconstant *Cittie*, for soe industrious and malicious are *M. Argyll* and his kirk to King and all your proceedings, that with frequent letters to *Manchester*, *Pierpoint*, *Swinkfield*, and others, and with his emissaries in *London*, whereby some *Scottish* pedlers in full exchange laboures to perswade the *Presb[byterian]* party (and hath gone neare to do it) that the present army and authoritie of *Scotland* under the command of [the] *Duke* [of] *Hamiltone* is perfectlie united to King and of party to destroy [the] *Covenant*, *Presbytery*, and *Parliament of England* and

*their adherents, withall professing of constancy to them and proposing* 1648, May 27.  
*wayes to retard and destroy all your takeings, particularly that if*  
*the Parliament of England will vote a personall treaty securing first*  
*Religion, Militia, and the revocation of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> declaration, and*  
*rest contented in the concessions of his Ma<sup>tie</sup> of the xii. of May in*  
*the particulars of settlement of religion, power of militia, and revo-*  
*cation of the declarations, and to demand those three rather by way*  
*of petition (as a thing already granted and proposed by his Ma: for*  
*the settlement of the kingdome) and humble request then to present*  
*them as Bills, by which means [the] M[arquis of] Arg[yll], who*  
*best knowes how to distract and divide your party by such concessions*  
*and the King of England, proposes undoubtedly to gaine England*  
*(at least their old party) and distract Scotland, and indeed the*  
*councell is pernicious, and all this was concluded to be done and*  
*voted last night, and comunicat to mee by a friend to acquaint you,*  
*that you [with the ?] Lord Treasurer secure [the] M[arquis of]*  
*Arg[yll] his person, or suddenlie cast your army in England, now*  
*almost up in armes, and longing for your coming in to prevent the*  
*conjunction of Presb[byterian] and Indep[endents] who are upon the*  
*matter as agreed, and Cromwell so inconstant (having at a Common*  
*Counsell consented to have the Militia putt into the hands of such*  
*who shall be equall in numbers, Presb[byterian] and Indep[endents]),*  
*as no honest and loyall thing towards King or Scotland can be expected*  
*from them, for the clergy is very jealous of all your proceedings and*  
*appeares much more friendly to Indep[endent] principles then*  
*formerlie. This day, the 27, the House hath been in debate how to*  
*demand the Militia for ten yeares, or for life of [the] King, and*  
*how to revert; they have not as yet concluded, but it is conceived*  
*they will (as they have upon Religion, which will gaine them the*  
*clergy) accept the King's proffer, and artillery. This is to prevent*  
*your army from coming in. The Kentish petition and posture of*  
*defence is very considerable, they being above 10,000 in a bodie,*  
*weel armed, and have taken diverse shippes and much amunition,*  
*haveing come as farre as Greenwich, possessed Sir Hary Vane his*

1648, May 27. house in Debtfford : a tertia of the army is making ready to oppose them. If they hold out for dayes, *they will be powerfull ; Essex, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, resolved to associate, and then they will be more terrible.* Langhorne in Wales hath 600 horse and a good body of foote if he had armes and moneys, the want of which looses all [the] King's affaires.

London, 27 of May, 1648.

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1648, May 30.

131. ——— — TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY LORD,

*I am now taking horse for France to my Master, who is now upon his motion to Holland, where I shall serve you to the utmost. Be pleased to command me and what I shall sollicite then. Here all will be suddenlie in condition, for Kent is all up in a body, possessed of all the castles, the Navy mutined, Rainsborough for feare ran away in a cockboate to save his life, and seven of the Navy declared against the Parliament, though not positively for [the] King. The Kentish are 2,000 horse and 10,000 foote ; very resolute, and almost all our Cavaleers souldiers gone in and command. Yesternight Fairfax had a rendezvous by Huntsloe of his tertia, but dares not attempt to oppose the Kentish, but expects Cromwell with another tertia now on his march, and then, if there be noe impedimentes, the Army resolves to suppress the Kentish, who are very terrible. Here all turnes toward [the] Indep[endents], and have voted that Militia, Religion, and the revocation passe as [the] King offered, thinking thereby to hinder the march of your army, it being Argile his master-peece. All affaires here will quicklie ruine because of your delays ; all the Lords are poore spirited. Can you give courage, for indeed we have none ? God Almighty direct and protect you. You will heare good newes of [the] King in the particular I wrote in my litle paper. Pray be kinde and conversant with [Lady] Carlile in*



letters, since I am gone you will have great advantages. When you 1648, May 30  
write to mee send it [to Lady] Carlile, for she will send it safe to me,  
and I intend to corresponde with you by her mediation.

London, 30 May 1648.

In great hast.

132. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

1648, June.

MY LORD,

*My committment the sixteenth of May deprived mee of the opportunity of seasonable advertisements from yee, yet I trust it was suplyed from a better hand. Wee received all your letters, which were as seasonable as welcome, and hath dispatcht them to every corner, for the late victory in Wales<sup>a</sup> hade almost made Indep[endents] insolent, and [the] Marq[uis of] Arg[yll] employes serpentine art, constantly corresponding with both Presb[yterians] and [Indep[endents]], particularly with Sir Gilbert Gerard, Swinkfeild, Perpoint, Manchester, Lord Say, and others, labores by all meanes to perswade them that the influence he and the clergy hath in England, seconded with convenient forces from England, will be able to retard any power you have in Scotland, which art and opinion of his is fomented by [the] English Commissioners, who, as they are corrupted by and given up to Indep[endent] ends, their great designe by complying with the Cittie; gaineing of time, garissonning of all the townes and castles in the land, secureing [the] King's party and disaffected to them, armeing Sectaryes, and proposing specious things to the discontented people is still kept up, notwithstanding the West now in armes, particularlie Cornwall, Devon, Kent, Essex, upon the point of embodying great bodies of horse and foote, only with longing expectation attends the march of your army, till which all our litle plots and tumults are insignificant. Till [the] Scottish army be in England, or al peoples minds possessed with the feare of it, it is not*

<sup>a</sup> On May 17 there was a thanksgiving for "the victory in Wales."

1648, June. possible to raise any considerable summe of money [in <sup>a</sup> the] *Citty* for your assistance, and if it should be obtained it will be so small and unworthy of your acceptation that it [would] hinder your more just demands of a greater summe, and confirme the common opinion your enemyes have of your necessities. However in order to your commands wee have a meeting this night with some of the best citizens and Commissary Copleie, where wee shall feele the proportions of their pulse. I apprehend their affections to be wholly concentrated to themselves, having obtained their Militia and the promise of the Tower, and demanding great things this day in their petition to the Parliament for the enlargement of their Aldermen and City prisoners, which the low and compliant condition of the Parliament bated from all intelligences of the kingdome will suddenly be necessitat to grant. How then they will use their power you may guesse, for the honour and advantages you can promise yourselves in England depends wholly upon the strenth and sudden march of your army, and then ask what you will and you shall obteene. Till then expect nothing.<sup>b</sup> The only way to gett money is that the Chancellour, Lauderdaile, and yourselfe write a letter to the Mayore, Aldermen Bunch, Langhame, Adams, and others of their society, expecting that assistance which often they have promised you towards soe gallant a designe, having such a regiment. It is like wee may gett some inconsiderable summe of money, which I rather you want then have. Your great difficultyes being overcome, I hope a few dayes hence to sollicite your businesse in France, this place being too hote for me. Alreadie a great accusation pretended against mee, but cannot be brought to a hearing, but they are not like to be much wiser. I have sent away your letters this day to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, from whom you will heare shortly. L. Fairfax marches himself to morrow. His tertia, consisting of 5 regiments, is alreadie marcht, unsatisfyt and dull of feares. If you love the advantages and interests of [the] King and kingdome make haste to come in, for to morrow the House resolves to vote a personall treaty,

<sup>a</sup> Decyphered "into."

<sup>b</sup> Followed by "King," by mistake.

more to keepe your army out then to restore [the] King, and all partes of the kingdome being upon the point to rise against [the] Parliament and Army must either be destroyed for lake of assistance or be participant of that honour which may be<sup>a</sup> yours. In our letters from France this day Sir William Fleming was upon the point to be sent to Scotland with all possible diligence and full satisfaction to your desires, soe that I hope you will need nothing from hence but the prayers and hearty wishes for the sudden march of your army. Commissary Copley and Mr. Glyn are released. This day the Aldermen, because Lilburn's ans[wer] de . . . ?

1648, June

## 133. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

1648, June 3.

MY LORD,

The Queen and Prince hes ben heer this 7 days, and now the Princ hes his liberte to go from hence when he will and whar he will. The Queen and Princ did call most of the nobilaty that was heir, and declarde to them her intentions in sendinge the Prince in to Holande, whar all men might cam mor conveniently to him, and he from thence might go to ane of the kingdoms that should be thoght most fitinge. His afektions and desayrs ar great to be amonges you, but if necesaty force it not he will not be suffered. I haue often wreten to your Lo. and am still mor confident in my opinion that you will haue great neide to make yourselues stronge in number and in your affectiones among yourselues. Now I make no doubte but that my Lo: Deuke is Generall. Ther is some new project in hand, and if that feall the Queen wil to a cloister and German to his government. Mr. Ashburnham has been prevyatly heir. Sir John Barklay is goinge to Holand gouernour to the Deuke of Yorke, which is strangly thought of. Sir William Fleminge is to go for Holand to resaeue arms and prouision. Lett not that expectation

<sup>a</sup> ? Which may fully be yours.



1648, June 3. *hinder your proceedings.* The fayme of the Prince going from hence is unsertan. In what your Lo: will comande I shall be reday to serue you, for I am sincerlay

Your Lo: faithfull and humble seruant.

Juine the 3, 1648.

[*Addressed*:—For the Earll of Lanricke in Edenbrogh present, these.  
Port from Paris—20 S.]

1648, June 7.

134. J. THOMSON TO W. BLACK.

SIR,

The inclosed came early this morning from Mr. Howton directed to the Lieut.-Governour heir, with a strict order to send it with all possible speed to you. The gentlewoman that came along with it reports that a partie for the King haue seazd on Pontefract, that our men were as farr as Barnie Castle,<sup>a</sup> discoverd a small partie of the enemy, tooke on of their skouts, who confirms this newes, and wee are nou in Westmerland, neere Brugh. This all that I can write for the present, but that I am,

Sir,

Your faithfull servant,

J. THOMSONE.

Carlile, June 7, 1648.

My best service to your brother and Mr. Read. Some of the enemyes foot are come in from Yorkshyre.

[*Addressed*:—For Mr. William Black, at the Earle of Lanerick's lodgings in the Abbey, Edinburgh, These.]

<sup>a</sup> *i. e.* Barnard Castle.

## 135. J. THOMSON TO W. BLACK.

1648, June 9.

SIR,

Carlile, June the 9th.

Mr. Howton's partner came hether yesternight late, and appears to be very well satisfyed with his journey. Hee is now gone to Mr. Howton, who is comming from Perith<sup>a</sup> with his freinds (they say) intending to go into Northumberland. As for the bussines of Pomfret, it is now confirmed by those who were in it since it was taken. The way of it was the governour being informed that one of his officers was to betray it. Hee accuses him, who stiffly denyes, and desyres to see any that could make it good. He is committed to his chamber. His request was to have his wyfe to come to him, and the liberty to send for a feather bed, which was graunted him, and the governour orderd when it came the souldiours should lett it passe. A litle before the tyme he came to the gate, and desyred of the centrie to see his musket, alleadging that he had almost forgot how to mannage it, which he lent him, and while he was using his postures with it the feather bed came and seven men with it, which were all very quietly admitted. Immediately he declares for the King, went to the governour's chamber, who being on his bed with his sword drawne, three of them enterd the roome, offerd him quarter which he denyed, so that ere they could seaze on him he was hurt in two or three places. The signe being given to a partie of 30 horse, which they had without, they enter the toune, give alarme that the enemy is comming (being on the Market day), and desyred that they would dryve all their goods to secure them into the Castle, which they did, and have gained good store of provision by this strategem. Many armes are said to be in the house, and some brasse peeces, which wilbe of infinite consequence to the malignants. I spoke a weeke ago with the merchand of Lancashyre concerning the safe conveyance of your letters, which he thought

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Penrith.

1648, June 9. then might be done. Send them, and I will doe my best to secure them. It hath infinitely pleased heir the noble and resolute cariage of your brother, and none more then

Your faithfull servant,

J. THOMSONE.

My reall service to your brother and Mr. Read.

[*Addressed*.—For Mr. William Black, at the Earle of Lanerick's lodgings in the Abbey. These.]

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1648, June 10. 136. SIR PHILIP MUSGRAVE TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY LORD,

If you meet not with that number of hands your Lo<sup>p</sup> expected at the letter from those gentlemen that haue taken the Couenant I doe humblie desire your Lo<sup>p</sup> will receiue from Mr. Barclay the true reasons, which I hope will giue satisfaction to your Lo<sup>p</sup>, and demonstrate I haue not been wanting in obedience to your Lo<sup>ps</sup> commaunds to appear

Your Lo<sup>ps</sup> very obedient servant,

PHILIP MUSGRAVE.

Carlile, June 10, 1648.

[*Addressed*.—For Mr. Black.]

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1648, June 11. 137. SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY MOST HONORED LORDE,

The enemy presseth harde upon us. Sir Phillip Musgrau with the rest of the gentlemen haue obeied your Lo<sup>pps</sup> orders in drawinge nere Carlile, and auoindinge engaginge. If your Lor<sup>pp</sup> will be pleased to assiste as spedily we shall do what we can to kepe our selues nere the walles of Carlile. The enemy is as yett att Perith,



with, as reporte goes, with<sup>a</sup> two thowsend horse and fiftene 1648, June 11.  
hondred foote; besides there is about 500 horse newly raised com-  
minge from Northumberland. I question not your Lor<sup>PPs</sup> care  
ouer them that are really and faithfully

Your Lo<sup>PP</sup> most humbly deuoted seruant,

MAR. LANGDALE.

In the feild before Carlile, 11 June, 1648.

[*Addressed*:—For my most honored Lorde.]

138. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

1648, June 13.

MY EWER HONORED LORD,

I retorne you humble thanks for yours of the 6 present, which was very satisfactory, the rather because yee have frustrated the designes of the factious zealots, whose obstinacy and pride I belieue are now found to be inconsistent with order and gouernment. It now remains *you bee quick in motion*. *Yours and* the generall interest *requiring it, and then* wee may see that donne in few days as may render us happy for many. In my last I gaue you as good an accompt as I could of Kent, and some hopes they would defend themselves, but in short it is otherwise, the generall (from Rochester) forceing them to lay downe armes uppon conditions of (for the present) seemeing security, yett I doe not find the 3 fortes in the Downes are yealded, nor that the generall hath left any of the army there to force them. From Kent the sceane is changed into Essex, of which county or rather body of men drawen together under the conduct of the E[arl of] Norwich, the L<sup>d</sup> Capell, Sir C. Lucas, Sir W<sup>m</sup> Compton, and many other gallant men of the King's party, I shall giue you this accompt, that they are in a formed army of at least 5000 horse and foote, and haue hitherto kept in Essex, Whalley not dareing to oppose them. As for the contrey, some cautious persons have accepted the ordinance of indempnity, others haue assisted them. Now the generall's

<sup>a</sup> "with" repeated in MS.

1648, June 13. whole army is there, and yesterday the trayne of 9 peeces and, as many waggons, beeing guarded by 200 horse and foote, marched through this Citty to joyne with the army, which is reinforced by those that tooke Chepstow, beeing about 1000, and all they can draw out of the West, Oxford, Gloucester, Worcester, or any other gar[rison], and yet (not to flatter myselfe) I cannot learne them all to be thus made uppe aboue 8000 horse and foote, which is all these parts can afford them, both to fight Lucas, if hee abide them, or to march into the North. But I heare Lucas is wary, and will not engage but on good aduantage, and therefore hee is marched more northerly. Some say hee quartered last night at Saffron Walden, others that he wilbee there this night; howeuer hee is far enough before Farfax. 'Tis likewise reported hee hath horsed all his foote, and then, if hee designe for the Northe, hee wilbee quickly there. Beleeue it, so many gallant men will doe somewhat handsomely. The Nauy is certainly firme to theire undertakings, and are gonne to Holland (where I hope they wilbee well used). The E[arl] of War[wick] returned on Saterdag, and boasts not of his entertey[nment]e by the shipps about Portsmouth. 'Tis certainly reported they refused him with scorne. This desertion of the Nauy is a terror to this Citty, and will, I hope, doe more good uppon them then the force of any fiew counties conjoynd could haue donne. 'Tis reported that the Mount in Cornewall is surprised by the Cornish, who are exasperated by theire ill usage at Pensans. This may bee of aduantage, the army haueing drawn away most of theire forces out of those partes. I must needes say our losse in North Wales is considerable by the takeing Sir J. Owen, though the Ile of Anglesy bee firme. Those at Westminster haue donne litle of late, but restored theire banished members, and as much as may bee pursued the Presbiterian interest, haueing designed the raiseing of a new army under the Earl of Denbigh, but in reference to peace or restoring the King they are as opposite as the Independants, and so wee may conclude them conjoynd with your zealots, with this addition, that as theise haue sinned more against

goverment they are by so much the more fearefull to see it restored. 1648, June 13.  
 I haue not seen *Mr Denham* these many monthes; he hath quit the *Savoy* and lyes privately. Yesterday I was told hee was dangerously sick out of towne. Hee mooues as *M<sup>r</sup>. Ashburnham* directs, and coresponds with the *King and Queen* and giues out commissions from the Prince. If you command mee I will serue you in attending him, and to my power shew how much I am

Your obliged and most humble seruant,

13 June, 1648.

282.

139. SIR PHILIP MUSGRAVE TO THE EARL OF LANERICK. 1648, June 14.

MY LORD,

Sir Marmaduke Langdale is now without the walls drawn into battalia. The enemy are aduanced, both horse and foot in sight, within a mile of the towne. We are confident we haue putt ourselves in such a posture as they cannot doe us much prejudice without great hazerd of their army, soe long as our horse can subsist in this narrow compass, which your Lo<sup>p</sup> may suppose will bee but for a very few days. Sir Marmaduke Langdale hath desired mee to communicate this unto your Lo<sup>p</sup>, and desires your very speedy assistance in this business of so great concernement for his Ma<sup>ties</sup> affaires (accordeing to your Lo<sup>ps</sup> ingagement). Most of the prime gentry of the Northe of England, besides many from other parts of principall qualety now with us, are resolutely bent to hazard their liues in this present action, which we dout not will moue your Lo<sup>p</sup> to a more effectuall consideration of us.

Your Lo<sup>ps</sup> fathfull and obedient seruant,

PHILIP MUSGRAVE.

Carlile, June the 14<sup>th</sup>, 1648, at alenen of the clock.

MY LORD,

I made bould to send a duplicate of this letter to Mr. Barclay, in case your Lo<sup>p</sup> should be absent from Edenbrough. P. M.

[Addressed :—For the Right Ho<sup>le</sup> the Earle of Lanerick. Hast; hast.]



1648, June 14.

140. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY LORD,

The bearer's knowlege of the *constitucioun of our coast heer*, and the *management of affaires in it*, is soe perfect as I have nothing left to truble you with att this time, haveng frilie communicated my thoughtis with him whois faith to the King and cuntrie, with the particular affectiounet and discriitt zeale he hes expressestt in all occasiouns to serve my Lord Duke and your Lo<sup>p</sup>, oblidgis me to a full confidence in him. Your resolouciouns of *withdrawinge the armie from Irland may make Ormond* feind a less advantagious receptiune in thatt *kingdome* then hee otherwayes mightt have expected; soe, as hee nou conceaves, *my* going first *into Irland* will bee absoloutlie necessarie befor hee can with confidence send you anye accoumpt *be him* of the condicioun of *that kingdome*, and itt were expedientt hee should bee advertised from you with all convenientt spide upon what termes of assurance the remaining *parte of the Scottish armie in Ulster* stands with *Ouen Oneile*, and hou farr *Ormond* may expect to haue *interest or pouver over them* in sutch occasiounes as may bee necessarrie for *him then* [to] *make use of them*; and beleve itt for a sertaine treuth that noe man hes a mor just opinioun of your integritye in all your prociding, or a mor particular vaellowe of your Lor<sup>ps</sup> meritte, then he heath, which I asure my selfe will verie effectuallye evidence itt selfe. His soe long staye here is occasioned *for* *procuring supplies* necessarie to *carie with him to Inchequin*, which ar nou promised verie spidelye, the sucseesse wherof and of whatt ellse may occur to my onderstanding that bee servisable to your Lor<sup>p</sup> shall bee faithfullie offered to you by,

My Lord,

Your most humble servant,

559. 554. 244.

Parise, 14th June, 1648.

The berer S<sup>r</sup> Will. Fl<sup>m</sup>ing shall hear from me whatt is nesesarrie by the night post befor hee leaveth Holland.

[Addressed:—For the Earl of Lanerick]

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## 141. ————— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

1648, June 20.

MY EVER HONOURED LORD,

I haue not had the good fortune to receiue any letter thence this post which rendes mee ignorant of your condition, but not at all diffident, occasion so aptly presenting itselfe for your advantage. 'Tis conceiued they are eyther stopt at Newcastle or taken by oer freindes of Pomfrett, who, I hope, will find it for their aduantage not yett to interrupt correspondance. In my last I gaue you an accompt of our friends quitting of Kent and their beeing in Essex, with resolution to march Northward: but that very day I wrote my last, the E. of Norwich and Sir C. Lucas withdrawen into Colchester and there attacked by Farrefax with much violence, who was as resolutely received. The fight was in the suburbs, wherein at first Farrefax tooke 250 prisoners, but at lengte hee was forced to retire with the losse of 3 entire troopes, 2 peece of cannon, and at least 700 foote slayne on the place. Since then there haue been many sollies and skirmishes, and I am confident that on Saterdag Far[fax] receiued as great if not a greater losse then on Tuesday, yett they make sure of those within and reinforce themselues as much as may bee, wherein the Independent party heere gaue them all possible assistance. On Saterdag Rushworth the Generalls Secr[etary] came to the Houses and gaue them a plausible accompt of their condicion, but was not admitted to speake much, or to haue any questions asked him. His errand was for a Reg<sup>t</sup> of auxiliaries and one of horse and a moneths pay for the army, all which I heare the Citty deny or at least demurre on, yett the last night 2 mortar peeces and granadoes were sent downe; the Generall himselfe is 10 miles on this side Colchester indisposed, the army some what neerer. I am confident they within will eyther ruine this army or all die not unreuenged. I am assured they can at worst keepe there 5 or 6 weekes, beeing yet superior in foote to the army, and may bee so for the horse in good time. The Generall

1648, June 20. hath sent for a Reg<sup>t</sup> of Dragoness out of Kent, notwithstanding hee receiued an accompt on Satterday of the unquietnes of that county. 'Tis certaine those in the fortes of Deale and Samdown [?] destroyed all that besieged them, and that the people are in armes about Tunbridge, and then I hope Sussex will assist them; and that in a short time the more Western Counties will not be idle. Cromwell (if liueing) is drawn from Pembroke into the North. His enterteynment of late there hath been much to his losse, and if the forces left bee not very strong the Welsh will bee uppe againe and reuenge themselues. The E. of War[wick] was lately at the Trinity House to endeavour the raising a new fleet, but it was concluded impossible, and aduice giuen by them imediately to send for the King. 'Tis certaine that no shippes goe to sea or dare retorne. Judge what the issue of this wilbee in few weekes. The Houses haue been of late very seuer against the poore Caualliers, chiefly by the instigation of Sir H. Mildmay (who was on Thursday cudgeld in the streets by one of the Kings footmen). They haue ordered that 20 gentlemen of quality bee seised on and sent to the Army in lieu of the Par<sup>ty</sup> and Comittie men of Essex now prisoners with Lucas: Sir Rob<sup>t</sup> Howard and Sir James Thynne are 2 and cannot gett of. Many likewise are secured in the Citty, but that is rather to preuent there acting any thing at the Common Hall on Satterday, which the Independants dread, and therfore Skippon has order for guards of horse and foote to secure the Guildhall that day. I presume you haue heard that there was about 20 days since a designe discovered of his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s intention to escape. Amongst others one Osborne was accused and fled on Satterday; hee sent a letter to the Speaker acquainting him that hee endeauored his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s escape for the safety of his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s life, because that diuers of the Army had sollicitated Hamon to murder the King, and Hamon sent one Rosse, a cap<sup>t</sup>, to engage him in it. This hee said he had 14 days since signified to the L<sup>d</sup> Wharton, who suppressed it: now therefore conjured the Speaker, as hee would answere it before God and men, to impart it to the Houses, desiring leaue to come with safety to justify it with



his life. This troubles many on diuers grounds, though as yett little 1648, June 20.  
is doune about it. There is a report that the last weeke his Ma<sup>tie</sup>  
desired to goe to bowles, but was diswaded as much as might be:  
howeuer, hee went, and before hee came to the Greene the roome  
hee came from fell downe. God preserue his life. By this you  
may see what necessity there is for you and all loyall subjects to  
make hast to his rescue. Wednesday last the P. designed to  
beginne his journey from Paris. Whether hee hed gonne I cannot  
learne, because yesterday the pacquett was carried to Darby-house,  
and there opened. I haue only to say that, as long as corespond-  
ance is not publickly interrupted, you shall receaue the accompt of  
affaires hence from,

My Lord,

Y<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>ps</sup> most obliged and humble servant,

282.

20 June, 1648.

The granadoes and mortar peeces were destroyed last night by  
the apprentices, which is no ill [news], as they were passing  
through the Citty.

'Tis certaine ther is a great fleët in the Downes, and 'tis [P.]  
Rupert with land forces; this — —? 2 houres exceedingly. They  
haue this day past an ordinance that Osborne shall haue liberty for  
40 days to come in and make good his accusation about the design  
of murdering the King.

142. SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE AND SIR PHILIP MUSGRAVE 1648, June 24.  
TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY MOST HONORED LORDE,

The enemy marched from Penrith this last night to Rose Castle,  
within five miles of Carlile. The place was kept by the Bishopp's  
seruant, with about twenty musquetuers, which they stormed and  
quarter them. At this instant we are certainly informed that fiftene  
hundred horse and foote from Lancashire (most part foote) quarter

1648, June 24. at Penrith this night, commaunded by one Collonel Ashton and Coll. Nich. Rich. Inqu's [?] brother. It is conceaued by all the gentlemen here that upon their conjunction they will kepe us from forrage for our horse, and if the horse march away it will so extreemely discourage the foote that are now raised that we exceedingly feare the danger Carlile may incurre for want of the horse. This is a matter of that greate consequence and concerne that we thought it our dueties to acquainte your Lor<sup>pp</sup> therewith, humbly begginge some releife of horse and foot, who nede not forrage, yett kepe the country open untill farther supplies, which will infinitely incourage

Your most humbly deuoted seruants,

MAR. LANGDALE.

PHILIP MUSGRAVE.

Carlile, 24<sup>th</sup> June, 1648.

This was of that great consequence that we were forced to desire our noble freind Mr. Barklay to acquainte your Lor<sup>pe</sup> with our condicion.

[*Addressed* :—For my most honored Lord.]

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143. JAMES FENNE TO EDWARD EDGAR.

June 24, 1648.

The packetts being soe frequently intercepted hath deuerted many of those little seruice I intended to haue presented you with in these kindes uppon the seuerall emergencyes of any important occasion heere. *England will be lost unless the Scots army presently come in, nor otherwise can Essex or Wales hold out, whatever from sanguine men you may heare to the contrary.* [The] *Prince of Wales motion I only attend heere with great impatience and cost.* 'Tis a miracle wee heare nothning of yt, since my laste letters perticularly enjoyned me to be readye to come awaie att halfe an howers warning: besides, 'tis confidently affirmed, and offered to bee made

goode, *France, Jermin, and the Parliament of England, are leagued* 1648, June 24. to obstruct his designe, which though perhappes but a scandalous imagination yeate 'tis not farre from the resemblance of truth and the suspicions of diuerse honnest judicious men. *P[rince] Rupert will come along notwithstanding the whole counsell resolved that question negatively, which sheweth his powers with the P[rince] of Wales,* whereon the audacitye of that partie onely dependeth, nor can anye soe well temper the heate of it as *the Nobility of Scotland,* whom yt more concerneth in pointe of consequence, for though *P[rince] Rupert pretend hee have no command, nor managem[ent] of publick affaires, but meerely discharge the dutie of a servant, attending on the Prince,* yeate the storye of the fox when that is objected to me alwaies cometh in minde, for he would eate noe grapes till he could gette them. *Gerrard and Prince Rupert ar on no kind of good termes. The guards will be offered you, at least so they write from France,* whereas I shall bee more readye to serue you as a sattelite rather then fayle. *D. Hamilton I presume hath seene the last printed letter which some of our Orlandos Furiosos hath copied out Montroses book and printed heere,* whereby you may perceiue enough unlesse you holde to the persuasion of an accomodation, otherwise remember the verse "Sic vos non vobis"; since oute of the leaste sparke the effect of fire is as visible as in ouen. *What the Pope hath enjoyned the papists in Ireland by a name is passed through Scotland in disguise. Darby House knows [they] have their intelligence from the Jesuites.*

I pray present my humble service to your brother, and tell him when wee meete I looke uppon him as one will not forgett his servants. Euery ower I am ready to take boate to Holland, from whence you shall not fayle to heare from

Your saythfull humblest seruant,

JAMES FENNE.

I beleeeue 3 weekes att farthest maye bring us togeather.

[Addressed :—For Mr. Edwarde Edgar. These present.]



1648, June 24.

144. ————— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY LORD,

The 24 of Juin, 1648.

I reseued on of yours by the last post. It hed no det; it is the 3. I haue hed from your Lo. since I parted from yow, and ther is no weike bot I wret to you. I beliuie they cam to your handes, for the letters gos as saf as anay whar I sende them, and hes retorne orderalay. The last post *made a sad* day her; the *night befor* ther com letters that *Fairfax was totaly routed*. How hye [?] and how loth [?] I leaue to your Lo. to juge. *At such a time* I was in great doubte to show your Lo: letter, bot consideringe it wold be for your aduantage, for ther hed ben whispars heere 3 or 4 days befor that my Lo. Deuke had lide doun his commission, and what congectours was mede upon that, mede me show how nobell a letter I hed from you, and what dangers and dificolteis you were in. My Lo. German tould me it hed cleird them of som doutes. I shall not be in quayat till I heir in what condision and saftay your Lo. is in. Ther com ane expres heir the day befor yestarday from the Deuke of Yorke and was returned yestarday. The shipes that went from the Parlament ar gon to him. *My Lord Wilobi of Param is admiral*, and sum of *them are apointed* to cum to you. Sir William Fleming *his dispatch is hastened*. The Prince was to a gon from hence this day, bot his journay is put of. Hou longe it is unsertan. Hei himself is impasient to be gon. It is pretendit want of monei. *That is not al*. Ther was nothinge the last weike bot *giueing of comisions*. *My Lord Newcastle* hes prest mouch for his dispatch, and a *comision for the North*. *It is delaied*; he is mede beliuie a great part of the caus is *from Scotland*. I am in doute this will cum to your handes, for the letters ar not cumd this weike, so it is beliued they ar stoppte. I pray for your hapines and that great and nobell axion you haue in hande, and shall serue your Lo. with zell and afection.

[Addressed:—For the Earll of Lenricke. Thes, at Edenbrogh.]

145. ————— TO —————

1648, June 21.

*MY LORD,*

I haue now committed a greater fault then my last, and if the intending well doth not saue me I am ruin'd. Here was a great expectation of your *Lo<sup>ps</sup>* saying something to *Batten*, and the occasion would not permet of a longer time, so that *Mr Loe* and I were necessitated to make a letter as from your *Lo<sup>p</sup>* and your freinds and give it to your expresse to be delivered to *Batten*, for the time was now pressing to have him ingaged, and we found that nothing would so certainly doe it as a ciuilitie from your person and kingdome. The ships are presently like to be in motion, for *E. Warwick* is busie in getting his fleet together, and confident of making it considerable and great, which *Batten* beleevs will neuer be. *E. Warwick* hath endeavored to ingaged<sup>a</sup> him and since *Cranby*, but they have both refused. As soone as *Batten* knowes where the ships are he will goe to them, and is assured that the ships that are at *Portsmouth* will follow him. He sayes he had much adoe to make the sailors quiet for the time he [was] at *Portsmouth*, but thought it best to doe nothing till the ships were all ready. *Bohun*, who is a fauourit of *E.*

*Warwick's*, and is like to have the best ship, meanes to be gone assoon as he is ready. This is a discourse mightly out of my element, and of which I can make no judgment but from others; but I haue great assurance given me by honest men of the truth of what I saye. The busines is of vast advantage if made good, and a certaine ruine to those belly people. Your *Lo<sup>p</sup>* knowes this *Citty* must goe with the fleet, and neither can nor dare doe other, so as you may be sure of what assistance you please from them, if there be a good agreement betwixt your nation and the fleet, which cannot faile, if it come into *Batten's* hands, for he is a most earnest seruant of your *Lo.* and all your ingagements. I wish that *Lord Willoughbies* being in the fleet may be no obstruction to this busines. I know not how he comes by that imployment, for he hath neither knowledge nor interest amongst those men. Your *Lo.* must not onely pardon me yourselfe, but

<sup>a</sup> Sic.

1648, June 24. aske it for me from *the Duke and Lo. Lauderdale*, for *I made bold with your names. It was only a generall ciuilitie. I hope Batten's will be a reall service. Here is ane impossibility of sending to the King. We are indeavoring to get a person, in which if we prosper your Lo<sup>ps</sup> letter shall presently be sent.* Neuer creature caried themselues so fearefully and so foolishly as *Wharton* hath done in this businesse of the King's being *poysoned*. 'Tis most certaine that the *Captaine* said these words to *Osburne*, and I doe uerely beleeeue it was the intention of many of the army, for amongst the *Independants* it was an ordinary discourse. I was neuer of there *councells*, and yet I haue often heard that said. *If your Lo[rds]hip* grant what I desire you will much oblige

June the 24.

Your humble and faithfull seruant.

1648, June  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

146. SIR W. BELLENDEN TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY LORD,

Haigc, 25 June, 1648.

Ther is a constant diligence usd for your spidde<sup>a</sup> supplie of armis and amunition, which with the two schips of war I am confident will be reddey to put to sea within this 4 or 5 days at forthest. The working malice of soome hier is still bussie to the prejudice of our contre, and will not haue it belied that ther is any thing of reealete in the intentions of the Scotcs to saue the King, nor that it is in your power to inuaid Ingland be reson of the present home deuisions causid be Argyll and the preachers, and for all that is said to the contrare impressions to this purpois do toe reddele take with thois I haue to deall with. If once I can make it appier that your armie is enterid in England my negotiation hier will go moir smouthlie on, and no doubt bot a conjunction will be indeuorid betwixt the Stats and you, though I find many of them much waddid to the interest of the Parliament of England; bot the twelue schippis that haue declared for the King doeth much startill ther former inclinations and resolutions. Ther ar aleuine<sup>b</sup> of the 12 hier with soome commissioners from Kent; they presse the Duc of

<sup>a</sup> speedy.

<sup>b</sup> i. e. "eleven."



York's present going to sea with them, and do exept against any to 1648, June 25. haue command ouer them that haue formerle sarued the Parliament, hauing to this purpois refused the Lord Willoby of Parhame, who for a time was desined be the Duc to haue the derectine powers of the prosidings. I hope er long that ther shall be a declaration emitted be them, schoing the resons whay they haue desertid the interest of the Parliament and that they intend his Ma<sup>te</sup> inlairement, and that he may be remitted to his former free power of gouernment, that the antient lawis of the kingdome may be in force, the now arme disbandid, that the subjects may be easid of the present taxis and impositions, and that religion may be satlid according to the Couenant; this I kno is the present intention of the Com<sup>rs</sup> and of the leading men amongst them, withall that soome of the schippis may be presentle sent to Scotland where they ar to resaue and obay such directions and commandis as shall be injoynd them be the parliament of Scotland, be the Committee of Staets, or be the Generall Duc Hamilton. S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Fleming cam heir last night and will be reddey to put to sea within this weeke. Hee brings with him a considerable portion of arnis and amonition; to this poorpois he is gon this day to Amsterdam, whair things ar preparing for him. Sir John Barklay is dayle expected. He is desined Governor to the Duc of Yorke, at which the pretendid Presbitarian parte hier ar much offendid be reson of his former adherence to the Independents, and they thinke that your Lo<sup>ps</sup> in Scotland will not be wail satisfied with him. My nixt will be by a seruant of my awin whom I shall giue a moir punctuall accompt of my prosidings, which I hope shall appier such to the satisfaction of thois employed me hier that I do not doubt your Lo<sup>ps</sup> joint approbation, at least such new directions from you as may inabill the willing faithfull endeuors in your seruice of,

My Lord,

Your Lo<sup>ps</sup> most humble and reddey seruant,

W. BELLENDEN.

[For the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Earle of Lanericke  
With speed, These.]

1648, June 27.

147. ————— TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY DEARE *LANERICK*,June 27<sup>th</sup>, 1648.

Yours of the 20<sup>th</sup> was highly welcome, though it bore in front a challenge. In excuse of the Principall I dare safely say his heart is not wanting to answer you, but his friends, fearefull of any such danger, are too watchfull ouer him; and for myselfe the Second, I haue been long engaged in the sarvice intimated by you, and since my returne haue (through my fury I thinke at my miscarriage therein) been soe indisposed with sicknes as I could not serue you in any such kind as was worthy the signification by letter, but I shall endeavour to hasten the remoue of those aspersions you lay upon *London*. But to giue you some light into publique affayres. This day the seamen petition in behalfe of the King, as to a personall treaty, and on Thursday it is expected that the Aldermen and Common Councell will, so that it is verily belieued (and some Grandees assure [it] to mee) that the King will very shortly be remoued and a treaty be assum'd. *Had the rest done their partes as carefully as Wharwood [the] King had bein at larg*, but notwithstanding *past danger, and much mony out*, wherein I am but meanly consyder'd, I shall not be remisse in my undertakings, when of use and fesible. I wish in the meane time a most happy successe to yours, and shall in all I can euer faithfully appear

Your servant,

H.

[Addressed :—For 410. H.]

1648, June 30. 148. SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY MOST HONORED LORD,

The enemy is retreated from Stanwicke this morninge, upon what intelligence or reason is not knowen to your seruant, yett it is generally belieued upon the bruite of the Scotts aduans to our reliefe. There

is this intelligence comed from the gentlewoman where Lambart 1648, June 30. quartered the last night, which I thought it my duty to make knowen unto yow. I would asperse noe man, yett what comes to me as intelligence I must acquainte yow, leauinge the examinacion of the truth thereof to your Lor<sup>pps</sup> wisdome, only thus farr may in some measure discover some circumstance. If these men be awanting or cannot giue good account of there residence att the time the gentlewoman saith they were at Kecaby nere Stanwicke it will be more suspiteous.

My Lord, our happinesse merely dependes upon your assistance, which we preserue with the same care we haue of our owne safety, and as I haue a letter from France from my Lord Germaine, we are totally diserted by all but your selues. It will unite us poore people to our shelter the more fermely, and when time serues discover our seminge freindes that dissert us. My Lord, I haue not more att this time but to begge some more powder, which spendes freely in time of many gardes. I beleiuie the enemy is awaye towardes Northumberland, whereof I beseche yow giue Sir Rich. Tempest notice, because we cannot send \* \* \* \*

My Lórd, it is all my ambition to be accounted

Your Lor<sup>pps</sup> most humbly deuoted seruuant,

MAR. LANGDALE.

[Addressed:—For my most honored Lorde at Edenburghe.]

149. ——— TO ———

1648, July 1.

MY LORD,

The 1 of Julay.

I haue hed bot on letter from your Lo: since Sir William Fleming cuminge, and that geue me great feare of that great asfare yow haue in hande, and of the safte of your person. Sum reportes ar heir that the minestars ar as lazy as euar, and putes you to

<sup>a</sup> Two or three words worn with damp.



1648, July 1. great troubell, and mouch retardes that nobell worke you ar about, wharin the preseruasion of thes fals and laying profetes lay, and so the preseruasion of the holl nation. The Prince was resolued to a ben gon from hence befor this, and solemlay tooke all his leiuies, bot souch juglin in his stay as I cannot expres, and dayuars con-gectars upon it. Hee is resolued he will go, and I am confident hei will in 3 or 4 days, unles hei be stayde by force. The shipes and what of his fathars ould and neu counsalar that ar in this kingdom are to meite him at Cales, and Sir Eduard hath sent for *Prince Ruperte*. - All I can dow is to pray Almightie God *that he prosper better in their hands then his father did. My Lord New-castell is discontent that hei getes no commision for his contrie. It is beliued that som parte of the caus is from Scotland. Hei is thoght to be a great freind to that nation, and I dar say he is, and partico-larlay to your familly. He is to goe presently into his contrie, where yow will haue a more free corospondence with him. My resoleu-sion is to be with the Prince, so your Lo: may direct your leters acordingley. I haue not harde from Sir William Fleminge since he went from hence, bot I houpe your Lo. has. This is the last yow will heir from me in this place. Wharsoeuer I am your Lo. may be confident of ane humbell and fathfull seruant.*

[*Addressed* :—For the Earll of Lenrick, precent this at Edenbrogh.]

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150. C. BRANDLING AND W. BLAXTON TO THE EARL OF  
LANERICK.

RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup>,

The order I receaued was sent yesterday to Collonell Gray and Sir Richard Tempest. There haith happened a misfortune this morneing in these quarters, and least it may be reported worse then it is wee thought fitt to informe your honour, though we cannot yett certainly tell the number, but wee suppose there is not aboue

100 horse lost, soe wee hope to be at your rendezvous with a good 1648, July 1.  
body of horse. That is of greatest consequences this that Coll.  
Gray and Sir Richard Tempest is yett wantinge with diuers other  
gent. Wee haue nothing more to present for present but that wee  
shall remayne

Your honours most humble seruants,

CHA. BRANDLING.

WILL. BLAXTON.

Barwicke, July 1st, 1648.

[*Addressed* :—For the right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Earle of Lanericke, These.]

Edenborough.

151. C. BRANDLING TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

1648, July 4.

MY LORDE,

Wee must confesse, and not without blushing, our senseles securitie, which proceeding from false intelligence proued fatal to the credits of manye gentlemen of qualitie, which was the greatest losse wee had, and yet if wee shall but make good your Lordship's handsome and for euer ingadgeing expression (of sharpning and quickning on our resolutions to an actiue reparation of our passiue affront) undoubtedlye (God willing) to his glorie wee shall recouer the same. Our other losses weere towards 2 hundred horse, 40 gentlemen, and 80 troupers, not aboue 4 or 5 slane. Sir Richard Tempest, commaunder-in-chiefe of Bushoprig, escaped out of their hands at Morpith, and is returned hither; we haue taken Henrye Ogle our grand enemy in our retreat, who wee hope shall not escape as Weltoon did. As for the strenth of our garrison, wee are 800 musquiteers, our horse and dragounes lie up Tweade, Sir William Blakestone is marcht awaye with 300 Westcuntrie horse towards Sir Marmaduke Langdale; as for your desires relating to the securitie of the towne of Barwick wee shall this daye purdge the same of all the disaffected as well wimen as men. This is all

1648, July 4. that your Lordship's devoted seruant hath to imparte at present,  
who takes leaue to subscribe himselfe

Your Lordship's moste faithfull seruant to be commaunded,  
CHA. BRANDLING.

[*Addressed*.—For the right honorable the Earle of Lanarick, these.]

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1648, July 9. 152. SIR WILLIAM BELLENDEN TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY LORD,

Amsterdam, 9th July, 1648.

After a tedious expectation of the frequent fair promyses maid me be the Prince of Orange, I am at last sent hither be his Highnes, whair he hes promised to send on of his Cownsellors, called Dr. Wil-loms, for the finall dispatch of my desirs in the obtening of armis, amonition, and schipping. I pray God my jorney hier may proue effectuall, for a fourthnight ago he tould me that ther remaned no thing bot the transcribing of a list from Duch to Frainch, which I haue not as yit seen nor can I lern the particulars of it. The trewth of the busines is that Doctor Goffe haith obstructid the busines, as will more fully appier to your Lo<sup>pp</sup> be the coppie of my last to my Lord Germin, which with this I send inclosed. I shall not deuert the former resolutions taken be your Lo<sup>pe</sup> and the rest of the noble lords sent me hier in what haith relation to the Kings rescu, and that soomething may be hansomle doin to uindicat the reputation of the contre, bot the trost reposid in me be your Lo<sup>pe</sup> and the rest doeth obledge me to lett yow kno that ther is that rowtid naturall malice in the hartis of all that call themselues of the Kings parte that no apparent meanes of relife can bẽ so unwelcom to them as be our assistance, and upon the rising of Kent and Essex, no thing hard amongst the English in eury corner bot acclamations of joye that the Kings busines was now to be doin without the assistance of the Scotcs, and that the Princes person was not to be trostid to the



handis of that perfideus mercenarie nation. I kno they are desirus 1648, July 9.  
to giue fair expectations to soome that ar at the helme of busines in  
Scotland, hoping therby to driue on the busines to our destruction,  
bot since Com<sup>rs</sup> ar expected to com hier I hope that all particulars  
will be so consitherid as the interest of our contre may be maturle  
thought upon, for ther is no thing desired be them bot to flatter the  
expectation of soome few who they hope to schufill of at pleasour,  
and to erect in the hight of power of gouernment the present cown-  
sell at St Germins. Goffe planele towld me that wee war not to  
expect any thing hier bot upon the Queen's accompt, whois in-  
terests he is imediatle trostid with to the exclusion of Sir W<sup>m</sup>  
Boswell, so that eury interuenient trifling occasion directed to him  
he doith prefer befor the interest of Scotland. The Lord Willoby  
of Parham is be commission from the Prince appointed Vis-admerall,  
to the great discontent of all that was formerle of the Kings parte,  
and be thoes that ar pleasid to trost him with the present chairge,  
hasard, and troble of the busines, yit ar they so distrostefull of his  
constant affection to the interest of the Scotis and ther Church  
gouernment that they would place such persons in inferior com-  
mandis as ar to deboch the affections of the salers, from which being  
discouerid be him makes him the moir waxy. Hee bid me acquent  
your Lo<sup>pe</sup> and the rest of the Lords that so soone as he putes to sea  
he will send a schipe to you, and according as he shall hier from yow  
that he will imediatle applay himselfe to the aduancment of your  
interestis, and that he will indeuor so far as in him layes to secure  
all Scotis schipps. He is uery confident spiddely to be maister of  
Lin and other places upon the coast. To this purpois he haith banc<sup>a</sup>  
commissions sent him, bot withall a letter of aduice to place such  
and such men as hauing been of the King's pairte, whain it plainle  
discouered that they haue declared them selues for the interest of  
thois that ar at present of the Princes Cownsell. Colonell Bamfeld  
assurs me that uery spiddely, with the concurrence of others that he

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* blank.

1648, July 9. haith alreddy spoke to, that he will be abill to supple yow with 4 or 5 thousand armis. He is thrust from the Duc of Yorke, and Sir Barklay plasid in such a trost that be order from S<sup>t</sup> Germins now is to speake with him bot in his presence. The yong sweet Duc is much trobled and growes melanchole upon it, thus to be used as a prisoner and not trosted with him selfe, who cereusle<sup>a</sup> is a most intelligent hopefull Prince. Tho: Killigrew and Will. Moray make him dayle act things not unbefittinge him, bot to the great disquayet of his governor, Sir John, who be discours to me doeth seam to wish uery wail to the Scotese, bot I believe in God.

At all time of my acces to the P. of Orange I did moue him what was to be doin be ws for the conjunction with the Staits, bot the trewth is that he is not so ripe and painfull in and for busines as his condition doeth requier. I could draw no thing from him that I can offer to your Lo<sup>pe</sup> as an incoragment to go on with that desire; howeuer it is thought that the offer of a trettie to that purpois may begait that good wnderstanding as may obledge them to perform acts of ciuilate and frindshipec to ws. The interest of religeon, the rediming the King from his soffering condition, and to be assistants be trettie for the satling the peace of the kingdome, do leaue no further impression with them bot exteriorle, nor no thing will prevaill with them bot be representing things of present aduantage to them, or how the Scotis of them seluis or be concurrence with others ar abell to anoy them. The present con-treuerse betwixt France and them will make them the moir willing to interten a trettie with ws that they may make us breake our antient leauge with the Frinch, or bring ws in suspition with our antient alies. The Prince of Orange doeth much desir that the Commissioners expectid hier may come so provided that be order of the Parliament of Scotland they may be instructid and haue pouer to treat if any such thing be resoluid on. I do make it my humble sute that I may be nominat be order of Parliament being hier employed alreddy be your Lo<sup>pes</sup>. This is my fift since my coming

<sup>a</sup> seriously.

hier, whair of I sent two be my Lord Lawderdails adres to Mr. Tyrens at London and two be sea directed to Robert Moray the Marchant. Sir John Hurry is hier, who seemis to me most passionatle desirus to redem him <sup>a</sup> former uauerings be uentering or losing his life in your seruice. I hope your Lo<sup>pe</sup> will make the contentes of this knoin to the rest of the Lords, to whom with your selfe as I stand most stricte oblegid so shall I euer thinke myselfe accomptable for my actions, which I hope constantle shall appier such as may continow your fauors to,

My Lord,

Your Lo<sup>ps</sup> most humble and most faithfull seruant,

W. BELLENDEN.

[*Addressed*:—For your Lo<sup>pe</sup>.]

[*In another hand*:—Giue this to Lainrick.]

[*Indorsed*:—Returne this letter back to L.]

153. THE EARL OF DERBY TO THE EARL OF LANERICK. 1648, July 13.

MY LORD,

July 13, 1648.

I am unhapily at such a distance that your letters came not to me so soon as I expected them, neither have I had a meanes to shew my forwardness in the present seruice as I desired, of all which this bearer shall giue your Lordship an account, and of my resolutions to be comanded by my Lord your brother, in whose fauour I desire most earnestly to be preserued by your Lo: meanes, so shall I more cheerfully serue you both, and endeaour all the waies I can to be knownen,

My Lord,

Your Lo<sup>ps</sup> very faithfull humble seruant,

DERBY.

[*Addressed*:—For the Earle of Lannericke.]



1648, July 26. 154. THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON  
AND OTHERS.

CHARLES P.

Right trustie and right intirely beloued cousin, and right trustie and right well beloued cousins, wee greet you well. Wee soe earnestly desire to bee in person present amongst you that wee shall with some impatience expect your Commissioners upon the subject of Sir William Flemmings instructions, and in the meane tyme wee intend to imploy ourselfe att sea aboard the fleete, as the best expedient wee can for the present make use of to oppose the common enemie, both to us and you. In all other things wee intreat you to giue full credit to this bearer, M<sup>r</sup> William Murray, as to a person perfectly instructed in our affaires, and intirely trusted by us.

Giuen under our hand and seale att Helford Sluce the 26<sup>th</sup> of  
July, in the 24<sup>th</sup> yeare of the raigne of our Royall Father  
the King.

[*Addressed:—*To our right trustie and right intirely beloued cousin James Duke of Hamilton, and to our right trustie and well beloued cousins the Earle of Lindsey, the Earle of Lauderdale, the Earle of Lanerick, and the Earle of Kalendar.]

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1648, July. 155. INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE COMMITTEE OF ESTATES TO THE  
EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[Draft.]

July, 1648.

Your Lo[rds]hip shall goe with all convenient speed to Holland or to France, or when you learne the Prince his Highnes is beyond the seas, and deliuer to him this letter.

You shall represent the great difficulties and opposition the Parliament and we have found in carying on this ingagement for the good of Religion, his Maj<sup>ties</sup> rescue and reestablishment, and the peace and happiness of these kingdomes.

Yow shall shew how notwithstanding therof this kingdome is 1648, July.  
ingaged and ane armie marcht into England in pursuance of the  
ends expressed in our declaration, which you shall communicate,  
and also represent the condition of our busines both heir and in  
England.

Yow shall therfor in the name of this kingdome humbly invite  
his Highnes the Prince to come either to this kingdome or to our  
Army, or where our forces are, as his Highnes shall thinke best.

Yow shall shew of what importance we conceive his Highnes  
presence will be amongst us for carying on the busines for his  
Maj<sup>ties</sup> rescue and reestablishment for his Highnes service and for  
obtaining a happy peace.

Yow shall give the Prince full assurance in the name of this  
kingdome that whilst he is with us or where we or our forces have  
the power, his Highnes shall be in honor, freedome, and safety,  
with full liberty to remove his person and attendants when and  
where he pleases, and that he shall be in that quality that shalbe  
sutable to his relations to this kingdome.

Yow shall represent to his Highnes that although this king-  
dome does not intend to limitt him in his servants and attendants,  
yet it is our humble desire that his Highnes wold be pleased not  
to bring with him such persons against whom the kingdome of  
Scotland hath just cause of exception, or who have exprest great  
disaffection to this nation, and particularly that his Highnes be  
pleased not to bring with him the Lord George Digby, nor any of  
those of this nation who are declared incapable of pardon, viz.  
James Graham, sometimes Earle of Montrose, James Gordon, some-  
times Vicount of Aboyne, Lord [Ludovick] Lindesay, sometimes  
Earl of Craford, and Sir John Hurrie.

Yow shall also shew the Prince that althogh this kingdome hath  
ever exprest great affections to the Electorall Palatine family, and  
does still continue in the same good inclinations both for the neer  
relation they have to his Maj<sup>tie</sup> and for many other causes, yet it  
is our humble desire that his Highnes wold not bring along with

1648, July.

him at this time Prince Rupert nor Prince Maurice, against whom both kingdome[s] have so just cause of exception.

Yow shall represent that it is our earnest desire and our expectation that his Highnes wold be pleased to use that way of Divine worship establisht by law amongst us as the Kings Majestie constantly did both in this kingdome and with our Army. And becaus the kingdome cannot admitt of the exercise of the Booke of Common Prayer, nor any of those episcopall ceremonies against which we are so many wayes engaged, either in Scotland or where our Army or forces have power, it is our humble desire that his Highnes wold not bring along with him his chaplains (who have not taken the Covenant), as the King's Majestie also constantly did.

If yow finde that, notwithstanding this our humble desire, any of those persons will needs come along with the Prince, you shall declare in name of this kingdome that they nor their forces will not admitt Prince Maurice, Prince Rupert, the Lord Digby, the excepted persons of this nation, nor the chaplains.

In case the Prince shall be pleased to trust his person amongst us and owne our ingagement yow shall joyne in name of the kingdome of Scotland for obtaining what assistance his Highnes shall demand in France or Holland or elsewhere for carying on the same, and ingage the publick faith of this kingdome for the same; and yow shall crave the Prince's assistance to your negotiation with the Prince of Orange, the States of the United Provinces, or in France, if yow go thither, and receive what authority he will give yow for the effectuating therof.

Yow shall give us frequent advertisements of your proceedings, and direct them to my Lord Secretarie, and returne assoone as yow can either with the Prince or before or after him as yow finde expedient.

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156. INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE COMMITTEE OF ESTATES TO THE 1648, July  
EARLE OF LAUDERDALE.

[Draft.]

July, 1648.

Yow shall deliver to the Prince of Orange this our letter.

Yow shall by his advice address yourself to the Lords the States Generall of the United Provinces, and crave his assistance in the prosecution of your instructions with them.

Yow shall deliver to the States Generall our letter directed to them.

Yow shall represent both to the Prince of Orange and to the States Generall the necessity, grounds, and ends of this our ingagement, for the good of religion, the King's Majesties rescue and reestablishment, and the peace and happines of these kingdomes; and for the better carying on of those ends yow shall desire from them what assistance you can procure in money, armes, and ammunition and in shipping.

Yow shall, if need bee, ingage the publick faith of this kingdome for what money, armes, and ammunition yow can purchase for the use of this kingdome, and upon what interest yow can agree, not exceeding 8 per centum, either from the States or from private persons.

Yow shall crave the assistance of the three Scots regiments now in the service of the States, and that they wold waft them over in ther ships and land them heir or in some sure port in England under the command of our forces; and if that be granted,

Yow shall ingage the publick faith of this kingdome for returning of them againe in the same numbers, the service being done, and sooner if the States demand them and wee be in a condition so to doe.

Yow shall, if yow finde it expedient and faisable, treat and conclude with the States Generall and those appointed by them of a stricter alliance and neerer conjunction betwixt the kingdome of

1648, July.

Scotland and the United Provinces, and that under his Maj<sup>tie</sup> government, particularly in pursuance of this present ingagement.

This yow are to manage to the best advantage of the kingdome of Scotland by the advice of his Highnes the Prince, and so as yow doe not cross any of the ends of the Covenant.

If the pursuance of the instructions given yow to the Prince call yow away before yow can finish these things yow shall authorise what Scots gentleman yow thinke fittest with managing so many of them as yow finde faisable, and for that purpose fill up his name in the blanck commission given yow.

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157. INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE COMMITTEE OF ESTATES TO THE  
EARLE OF LAUDERDALE.

July, 1648.

Yow shall, if yow finde it necessary, goe from Holland to France, and deliver to the Queen's Maj<sup>tie</sup> this our letter.

Yow shall give her Maj<sup>tie</sup> ane account of our condition, of our faithfull indeavors for his Maj<sup>ties</sup> rescue, and of our reall desires to serve her Maj<sup>tie</sup> and her just interests.

Yow shall make use of your former instructions given yow as to the Prince.

Yow shall deliver our letters to the King and Queen of France.

Yow shall acquaint them with the grounds and ends of our ingagement, and crave assistances from them of money, armes, and amunition.

Yow shall, if need bee (ut supra). Then follow my Lord Lothian's instructions.

And at the last (ut supra). Commission and blank commission. A letter to the Queen of Boheme, Duke of York, Princess Royalle. Credite to France.

[*Indorsed*.—First draught of Earl Lauderdale's instructions from the Committee of Estates in Scotland to invite the Prince thither, in name of the whole kingdom, or to their army then marcht into England, for the purpose set forth in their larger and shorter Declaration, July 1648.]

## 158. THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO THE EARL OF LANERICK. 1648, Aug. 10.

From aboard his Maj<sup>ties</sup> ship the Constant Reformation in the Downs the 10 of August, 1648.

MY LORD,

Your Lo<sup>p</sup> was pleased to be at the paere to see me set saile on Saterday the 5<sup>th</sup> of this month. The man of warre whom the Committee commanded to attend me neuer came neer me, so I have never seen him. I sailed to the Ely,<sup>a</sup> and then tooke along Gilespies shep, who I was desired to convey, and it was a great trouble to me, for he retarded us extreamly. There I learnt that his Highnes the Prince was not in Yarmouth, and that a man come from Linne to Anstrother assured so much. Yet I resolved to goe along by the coast of England and see what further intelligence I could get. God blest us with a most admirable good winde, and I was on Sunday morning early at Flamborow head (which is mid way to Holland). We could have no intelligence for all vessells fled from us. The winde stood extream faire for Holland. All our seamen were unwilling to goe to Yarmouth or ingage within the Sands; and therfor upon the intelligence I had gotten in Ely roade I steered directly over to Holland, and although we wer retarded a third of our way by waiting on our merchant man we came to ane anchor in the mouth of the Mase on Monday in the evening. On Tuesday morning the winde turned upon us, and whilst we were boarding into the Brile the pilotes boat assured us (which was the first intelligence we gott) that his Highnes was gone 3 weekes agoe, but he knew not whither, and he shew us a man of warre who he assured us belonged to the King. So I resolved to bridle my curiosity, which indeed was great, to see Holland, and to content myself with a sight of the steeples. The winde was very faire for England, our captaine most civill and willing, soe I resolved to goe to Yarmouth, but first to chase the man of warre whose course seemed to be for France, but he proved to be a man not to be taken.

<sup>a</sup> Elie in Fife.



1648, Aug. 10. We chased him some houres to no purpos, but at last we saw ane English man a sterne of us. Him we stayd for as the easiest to be spoke with, and he proved to be a frigatt of the Prince, the Robuck. He informed me that the Prince was in the Dounes, that the ship we was chasing was the Constant Warwick, and Captaine Batten aboard of her going to the Prince, that Scarrborough was declared, all which hath proved very true. So we resolved to go together, and with some crosse winde and sicknes I came hither this morning in to the Dounes, wher I have had the honor to kiss the Prince's hand in this ship, and to receave from him a very gracious reception both to the busines and to myself. But I have had no hearing nor discourse but civilities, except a little in privat with 20, which was interrupted d 84, 107, y 22', 26'', w 81, 22', 57, 9, 26'', but I can give no certainty. Just now I meet with this opportunity, with whom I have time only to say this much, and to desire your Lordship that by your favor it may serve the Committee, the Duke, and all my freinds.

The news I meet with is that Colchester is yet very well. Heer is a most gallant fleet, 18 ships commanded by my good Lord Willoughby. His Highnes is absolutly master of the sea, and my Lord of Warwick of the river about Greenwich. 2 castles heer are for the King and beseiged, which I saw this day releevd. Mr. Halyburton hath been with the King. This night I write to London and expect to returne within two dayes, against which time I shall send ane express, for which purpos honest Willoughby will give me a catch. Heer are ships taken to a great value, for which London is treating to send money aboard. A Lord and two commoners, vic. the Earl of Middlesex, Sir John Hipplesley and another, are gone to the King to offer him a treaty with honor, freedome, and safety in the Ile of Wight. (A. Bull). Thus in very great hast I am—

Heer are with the Prince Rupert, Lords Brandford, Percy, Culpepper, Hopton, Wentworth, Wilmot, Garret, Withrington, and the Duke of Buckingham. Mr. Murray was sent to Scotland by

the Prince to Scotland but fell sick ; whether he be recovered and 1648, Aug. 10  
gone or not your L<sup>p</sup> knowes best. Heer are D<sup>r</sup> Steuart and 3  
D<sup>rs</sup> there.

Your Lo: most humble servant,  
LAUDERDAILL.

159. THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO THE PRINCE OF WALES. 1648, Aug. 16.

[Copy.]

MAY IT PLEAS YOUR HIGHNES,

In pursuance of the instructions I receaued from the Committe of Estats of the Parliament of Scotland I haue represented to your H[ighness] the great difficultie and opposition the Parliament and Committee found in carying on this ingagement for the good of Religion, his Ma<sup>ties</sup> rescue and reestablishment, and the peace and happines of the kingdomes, and how notwithstanding the kingdome of Scotland is ingaged, and a powerfull Armie marched into Ingland, in pursuance of the ends expressed in the declaration which I haue also comunicated, and represented the condition of our affaires in Scotland and England. I haue also shown of what importance the Committee conceaues your H[ighness] presence will be amonge them for carying on the busines for his Ma<sup>ties</sup> rescue and reestablishment, in your H[ighness] service, and for obtaining a happy peace.

Therfor, in the name of the kingdome of Scotland, I humblie invite your H[ighness] to come ether to Scotland or to the Armie or wher the forces haue the power, as your H[ighness] sall think best, and I do in the name of your kingdome giue your H[ighness] full assurance that whilst you ar with them, or wher they or their forces haue the power, your H[ighness] sal be in honor, freedom, and saeftie, with full libertie to remove your personne and attendants when and wher you please, and that your H[ighness] salbe in that qualitie that sal be sutable to your relation to that kingdome.

I am also commanded to represent that it is the earnest desire

1648, Aug. 16. and expectation of the kingdome of Scotland that your H[ighness] wold be pleased to use that way of Divine worship established by law in Scotland as the Kings Ma<sup>tie</sup> constantlie did both ther and with our armie. And because the kingdom of Scotland cannot admit of the exercise of the Booke of Comun Prayer nor any of thes episcopall ceremonies (against the whiche they ar so solemnly engaged), ether in Scotland or wher ther Armie or forces haue power, it is ther humble desyr that your H[ighness] wold not bring along with you any chaplains who haue not taken the Covenant, whiche was also constantlie his Ma<sup>ties</sup> practice.

Sic subs.

Donnes, the 16 Aug. 1648.

LAUDERDAILLE.

#### 160. DECLARATION BY THE PRINCE OF WALES.

Haing lately receyued a letter from the Committee of the Estates of Parliament of the kingdom of Scotland presented unto us by our right trustie and right wellbeloued cousin the Earle of Lauderdale, whereby they desire our personall presence amongst them, and engage the publike faith of that kingdome for our beeing in honour, freedome, and safetie during our abode with them in Scotland, or with their Army or forces now in England, and that wee shall haue a full and entire libertie to remooue from Scotland or their Army when and whether wee shall thinck fitt, Wee thereupon declare that wee intend to repaire unto their Army in England with as much speede as wee may, and to bee and remaine in person amongst them, according to the publike engagement aboue mentioned.

CHARLES P.<sup>a</sup>

By his Highnes command or counsell,

ROB. LONG.

August the 16th, 1648.

[*Indorsed*.—His Highnes answere to the publike letter and to the first proposall of the Erle of Lauderdale.]

<sup>a</sup> Autograph signature.



## 161. DECLARATION BY THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1648, Aug. 17.

Having seene the Commission giuen to our right trustie and right wellbeloued cousin the Earle of Lauderdaill by the Committee of Estates of the Parliament of the kingdome of Scotland to treat and negotiate with us according to instructions from the said Committee of Estates, and the said Earle of Lauderdaill hauing presented a paper to us of the 16<sup>th</sup> instant, in pursuance of his said commission and instructions, in the first part whereof hee inuites us in the name of the kingdome of Scotland to come eyther into Scotland or to their Armye, or where their forces haue the power, &c.,—For answer thereunto wee doe referre ourselfe to our former paper giuen to the said Earle in answer of the publick letter addressed to us by the said Committee of Estates, with this further addition, that as soone as wee can settle such order in the fleete now under our command, and soe provide for the same that it may bee most usefull to the common interests of us and the kingdome of Scotland (which wee conceyue may bee done in a verie fewe dayes), wee shall then immediately beginne our voyage towards the Scots Army by the way of Holland.

To the second part of the said paper, wherein it is desired that wee would bee pleased to use that way of Divine worshipp established by law in Scotland as the King our Royall Father constantly did, both there and with their Army, and that wee would not bring along with us any chaplens (whoe haue not taken the Couenant), which was alsoe constantly his Maties practice; although wee would haue been gladd that the importance of the busenes would haue afforded us tyme to send to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> and receyue his directions, as was desired and proposed by us to the said Earle of Lauderdaill, yett understanding by him how necessarie our presence in their Army is, wee doe consent whilst wee shall bee in Scotland or the Scots Army in England, or where their Army and forces haue power to use the way of Diuine worshipp established by law in Scotland,

1648, Aug. 17. and will not bring with us any of our chaplens into Scotland or to their Army.

CHARLES P.<sup>a</sup>

By his Highnes command in Councell,

August 17th, 1648.

ROB. LONG.

162. THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

MAY IT PLEAS YOUR H[IGHNESS],

I am commanded humbly to desyre of your H[ighness] that sum of those ships whiche ar com in to your H[ighness] may be allowed to waite on the coastes of the kingdome of Scotland, both West and East, and that they be commanded to obey the orders of the Committee of Estats and of the Lord General of the Scots Armie during ther attendance in those parts.

Sic subs.

Downes, the 17 Aug. 1648.

LAUDERDAILLE.

1648, Aug .18. 163. THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

MAY IT PLEAS YOUR HIGHNES,

The Committee of Estats haue commanded me to represent to your H[ighness] that altho that kingdome doth not intend to limit your H[ighness] in your servants and attendants, yet it is ther humble desyr that your H[ighness] wold be pleased not to bring with you the Lord Digbye, nor any of those of the Scottishe nation who ar declared incapable of pardon, viz. James Grahame, sumtymes Earle of Montrose, James Gordon, sumtymes Viscounte of Aboyne, Lodovick Lindesay, sumtyme Earle of Crawford, and Sir John Hurrie.

Sic subs.

LAUDERDAILLE.

Downes, the 18 Aug. 1648.

<sup>a</sup> Autograph signature.

## 164. DECLARATION BY THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1648, Aug. 19.

In answer to a paper of the 17<sup>th</sup> instant, presented to us by our right trustie and right wellbeloued cousin the Earle of Lauderdale, wherein he desires that some of our shippes bee allowed to waite upon the coasts of the kingdome of Scotland, Wee promise that wee will giue order to our right trustie and wellbeloued the Lord Willoughby, Vice Admirall of our fleete, that as soone as the fleete shall bee soe strengthened that it may safely bee diuided fitt shippes shall bee sent to wayte upon the coasts of Scotland as is desired, with command to obey the orders of the Committee of Estates and the Lord Generall of the Scots Army, as in the said paper is likewise desired.

CHARLES P.<sup>a</sup>

By his Highnes command in Councell,

ROB. LONG.

Aug.<sup>th</sup> the 19, 1648.

## 165. DECLARATION BY THE PRINCE OF WALES.

For answer to a paper of the 18<sup>th</sup> instant, presented unto us by our right trustie and right wellbeloued cousin the Earle of Lauderdale, wee promise that wee will not bring with us any of the persons mentioned in the said paper.

CHARLES P.<sup>a</sup>

By his Highnes command in Councell,

ROB. LONG.

August the 19<sup>th</sup>, 1648.

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<sup>a</sup> Autograph signature.



1648, Aug. 19. 166. THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY NOBLE LORD,

I first present your Lo. with a duplicate of what I wrote the tent of this month upon my first arrivall, and sent it in a Dutch vessell. This letter will be a volumne in spite of my teeth with a jonnall, nor with all the particular debates I met with; they were very long and will be the subject of some of our conversation, only I shall give you as short ane account as I can of the succes. Upon the first conferences I had with the knowingest persons heer I found that all the considerable difficultie I wold meet with wold be in point of the Divine worship, and I was threatned to purpos that that was not to be overcome, and therfor I resolved to apply my self first to remove that which appeared to be the greatest difficultie. I spoke with the Prince often in private, whose inclinations I found as good and as earnest to be with us as is possible. He tooke the invitation extream kindely, and with much gallantrie he exprest great inclinations to be ingaged with us. The great opinion I have of his person I shall leave till meeting, and then I am confident your Lo. will be of my opinion when you see his Highnes, that we are like to be very happy in him. I spoke likewise with very great freedome to his councillors apart. I was extreemly prest with a delay till the King might be consulted, but I flatly refused it, and told a delay was equally as destructive to his Highnes service as a denyall, and I declared flatly that in that case I wold immediately be gone and give advertisement to the kingdome of Scotland. At last I broght the busines to ane issue by my importunity, and after I had on the 16 of this month spoken with the Prince alone at Leath he desired me to come to councill. I told him my applications were to him and to no bodie els, but if it were his Highnes pleasure I should apply myself to him before whosoever he pleased. So thither I came, where I found the Prince sitting on the one side, Prince Rupert, the Lords Brandford, Wil-

loughby, Hopton, and Culpepper on the other, and the Secretary 1648, Aug. 19. standing. I was commanded by the Prince to sit downe nixt to Prince Rupert, which after some ceremonie I did. I there pressed the Prince with all earnestnes I could and ansuered all the objections I knew. I desired my answer in wryting, and for that purpos gave in the inclosed desire in write. I shall not trouble your Lo. now with the debats. The Princes paper was communicated to me ere it was delivered, and upon debate with the Prince upon some clauses in the first draught of it his Highnes was pleased to strike out with his owne hand what was displeasing to me. Now I hope it shall giue satisfaction. I am sure it is a cleer grant of the demand. Hauing thus obtained that which was like to be the maine difficultie I gaue in these other papers in pursuance of my other instructions and receaved the inclosed ansuers. One I did purposely omitt by a particular command from the Prince, and that was concerning Prince Rupert. His Highnes promised to satisfy in it, but was unwilling I should make it a demand, so I have delayed it. If it be necessarie I shall give it in in time. His Highnes is most extreemly earnest on the journey, and speaks of it with the greatest satisfaction that can be, and frets at the delay which he is necessitate to make in going first to Holland; but he must needs first goe thither where he will stay very few dayes, for he cannot divide the fleet least they should bee too weake for Warwick. He hath sent my Lo. Percy yesternight to Holland to provide ships to cary him and every thing els for his journey. He hath likewise good hopes to procure some money in Holland when he comes thether. He carries only from this the Constant Warwick and this ship that I am in, where I shall have good store of company. The Prince having thus owned our ingagement and declared to come presently to us I acquainted him with my employment to France and Holland. He was very well pleased with it, and thought it might be of very good use, but he wold upon no termes consent that I should leave him. He thought it might be of good use in Holland, and was very well pleased that Sir Robert Moray was to

1648, Aug. 19. goe into France in case I went not; bot because there is so much to doe in setling this fleet those houres that the Prince stayes heer, he commanded Sir Robert to goe along to Holland, from whence he is to be dispatched.

Besides the papers I sent by the last I heerwith send your Lo. the Princes letter to the Speaker of the House of Peers sent ere I came hither, to which no answer is as yet returned. One Mr. Powley, servant of the Princes, caryed it, as also a copie of His Majesties answer to the last message sent to him into the Ile of Wight.

Notwithstanding that Prince Rupert knowes that the kingdome of Scotland hath excepted against him, yet he hath caryed himself very handsomely in this busines. He professes very good affection to our nation, and that he is very much troubled they should have any prejudice at him. My Lord Culpepper hath been very forward and instrumentall in the Princes going, and I never saw greater earnestnes than was in my Lord Jermins last dispatch before he knew of my being heer. My Lord Willoughby commands this fleet. He is full of loyaltie to the King, constant to his former principles, and a person to whom our nation owes very much. There shall (I thinke) come with the Prince the Duke of Buckingham, my Lord Newcastle, Lo. Culpepper, Lo. Hopton, and the Princes domestick servants except the chaplaines. This day I spoke with his Highnes anent the place he intends, Godwilling, to land in. It was in Councell, and the Prince was earnest for Barwick as the place from whence he conceaves he can with greatest expedition be at the army, where he longs extreemly to be. I shall humbly therfor intreat your Lo: to see order taken for his reception there, and seing he hath so frankly quitted his owne chaplaines that some be provyded to attend his Highnes, and whither you will from thence invite his Highnes to Edinbrough, for first he will goe to Barwick. I shall indeavor to send to your Lo. againe from Holland.

I can send your Lo. no news from London, for althogh I have



written thrice I have no returne. My Lo: Andevor came hither 1648, Aug. 19 2 dayes agoe from thence. He tells me the Cittie is putting themselves in a good condition. Major Gen: Browne, the Sheriff, is made choyse of by them to command their militia, Massey to command their new raysd foot, and Graves their hors. It is most fals that we heard of their disaffections to our ingagements. Colchester holds out well. Heer was on Monday ane unluckie interprise upon the enemy that block the two castles of Deale and Sandoun. The seamen were violent in it. The reputation is wors then the loss, yet the loss was too great. Major Gen: Gibson, who commanded in cheef, Sir Jo: Boys, and a great many gentleman, are prisoners; amongst the rest Sir George Curre and Colonell Lindesay, and 73 common sojors, some land some sea men. The Prince of Condé hath given a great defeat to the Spanyard in Picardy, 38 of canon are taken and Generall Leech [?]. The Sweds triumph and have taken the castle and the little toun of Prague.<sup>a</sup>

We parted in such hast that I forgott to desire letters of credite to the Duke of Orleance, Prince of Condé and Mons<sup>r</sup> de Bellievre. I heerwith send draughts of them and desire they may be hastned to me by this bearer, Allan Cathcart, that they may be used by Sir Robert Moray at his discretion. I likewise humbly offer it to your Lo<sup>p</sup> if it be not fitt to print his Highnes declaration and letter to the Lords, and earnestly intreat that the bearer may be hastned to me to Holland, where he may finde me or meet me, for I finde it very heartles not to heare a word. Thus in obedience to the Comittees commands I have given your Lo: a full account. I durst not have presumed to have troubled them with so great a lenth. I hope your Lo: will pardon the confusednes of it, and remember I am at sea, and everywhere ready to receave and obey what commands the Committee or your Lo. will lay on

Your Lo. most humble servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

Doune, the 19 of August, 1648.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the Kleinscite.

1648, Aug. 19. P.S.—I had almost forgott to tell your Lo. that although all ships be stopt and broght in hither, yet his Highnes hath given expres order that all Scots ships without stop or impediment goe freely, and this day a ship belonging to English, but laden by Scotsmen, hath at my intreaty gott a pass to goe to London. The desire was made to me by a letter from Sir James Morayes brother Patrick, which the master of the vessell broght me.

1648. Aug. 26. 167. THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.

MY DEARE LORD,

My other long letter hath a full and a most confused account of the publick busines intrusted to me, which your Lo: may [be] pleased to communicate to the Committee, and cause one of your servants transcribe a copie of it for my Lord Duke. This shall only be for yourself, and if you please for my Lord Duke and my Lo: Tresorer, and whom els you thinke fitt. If I should repeat our debates this should prove longer then the other, I shall therfor referre them till meeting. <sup>a</sup> *With caurme* [?] <sup>b</sup> *behaviour* [?] *got what I desyrde.* *Doctor Stewart runnes mad.* *He says he is abandoned by treati.* *He wold haue beene content to haue prayed without book.* The great argument used against me was *that K. hath on his blessing commanded Prince not to exceed his concessions without his order.* This I eluded well enough as to the point in question, but it demonstrated to me that it was impossible for me to obtaine more *in religion from Prince.* A great *parti* was formd against it. *Hopton mainly ingaged and Gerrad,* but *Perci and Wilmot* were extreemly right; and although *Culpeper* wold faine have persuaded me from it, and with greatest earnestnes urged *delay*, yet when it came to the up with *he* was as right as any man living and as hearty. Willoughbie is most honest and wholly Scots. He solely ingaged *on our interests*, and besides *his sea comand* he

<sup>a</sup> The underlined passages are decyphers.

<sup>b</sup> Possibly "calm."

*hath Norfolk, Suffolk, and Lincolne* with two more, and will 1648, Aug. 20.  
 imploy *non but Presbiterians*. *Poynes* shall be his Major Generall.  
 From *Willoughbie and him* both I send your Lo: a cipher to be sent  
 to my Lord Duke, and shall intreat your Lo: to keep a copie of  
 both, for both will correspond with my Lo: Duke and your Lo. I  
 finde a great freindship betwixt *Prince Rupert* and *Willoughbie*,  
 and it is the earnest desire of the last that *Rupert* may have leave  
 to *wait on Prince*. He conceaves it may be of infinite advantage to  
*Scotland*. He is solemnly ingaged against *most of the Councell*, hath  
 a great personall, interest with *Prince*, and gives the greatest assur-  
 ances that are possible ; and truely I am much of that opinion. If  
 it can be effected I shall represent it as your action. If it be im-  
 possible, I beseech your Lo: write such a letter to me as I may show  
 him, by which your part in it may appeare. It was ane easie  
 demand, the barring of Lo: Digby, for he is cleer out of all court,  
 and for his last farewell he challenged my Lord Jermin, but fighting  
 was prevented. *Sir Marmaduke* is not at all valued heer. Lo:  
*Newcastle as Generall, Wilmot Lieutenant Generall, Bellous Gene-*  
*rall of the hors, are all to be brought over him.* My opinion in this  
 was asked, but I wold give none, but left it wholly to *Prince*, only I  
 told they wold all be very welcome to *Scotland*. I have heer seene a  
 letter from James Graham, dated at Vienna the 20 June, to the  
 Duke of Yorke, making offer of his service to him. I finde James  
 is no very acceptable prince in this Courte. I have no more to say  
 at this time, but earnestly to intreat that you wold prepare evry  
 thing for the Prince's reception, especially for ministers; and let  
 me know whither I shall advise the Prince to demand any by  
 name, and whom? Consider whither you will invite the Prince  
 to come to Ed<sup>r</sup> or no? And hast back the bearer with a very long  
 letter to me. Lord bless our army, for all depends on that, under  
 God. This little man of warre hath order to obey the Committee  
 of Estates. I beseech your Lo: let him have some recompens to  
 encourage others. Againe hast back the bearer to me to Holland,



1648, Aug. 20. and God be with you and send us a good meeting. I am unchangeably your owne  
LAUDERDAILL.

This day, since all this was written, and when I was ready to make my dispatche, the Prince sent for me and told me that he had accomodate the busines smoothly concerning Prince Rupert; that he wold stay in Holland, but he commanded me to write that it was his earnest desyre that that restraint might be taken off. I asked whither I should write it to the Committee. He bid me rather write to my private freinds and particularly to your Lo: and indeed I see it is a thing his Highnes very much desires. Your Lo: will be pleased to acquaint all our freinds with it. He also commanded me to write to the Committee concerning my Lord Brandford's busines, which I have done.

Powley is returned from London. He brings a most sleeves letter from the Lords to his Highnes, which signifies nothing. He tells me that letters were offered to him for me, particularly from 17, which he very wisely refused. Judge if I thanked him. He informed the Prince that the Commons have refused the treaty unles the Scots be left out, but the Lords have refused to joyne, and adhere close to the K<sup>s</sup> message. He tells that the Independants give it out that Cromwell will fight with the Scots, and that they are not considerable; yet Cromwell hath written to the Committee that if they send not 3 or 4000 men more he cannot promise so good an account of our army as he desires. The Lord send me a good account of our army, for I must confess at this distance they goe very neer my heart.

I heerwith send your Lo: a letter from S<sup>r</sup> William Batten to his cousen, which he conceavs will be of great use. Use it as you please. I am now going to a meeting with Willoughby and some other honest men from London, in order to a very considerable diversion of *honest Presbiterians*, of which you shall have an account. Adieu.

Dcunes, the 20 of Agust, 1648.

[Indorsed:—For your Lo<sup>p</sup> self.]

168. THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON. 1648, Aug. 20.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

When I made my first dispatch upon my arrivall in this place the 10 of this month I had not time to say this much. Neither shall I now trouble your Grace with a long letter. It were a needles repetition, having written so fully to my Lord Lanerick to be communicated to your Grace, to whom also I have sent two cyphers, one from my Lord Willoughby, for whose honesty and good affections I will be answerable. He is a very gallant man. The other from Major Generall Points, and I have desired Lanerick to take a copie of both. I heerwith send your Grace a true copie of the Princes answer to the invitation and the desire concerning Divine worship. I hope it will be satisfactorie, as I am sure the answers are to all I have demanded in name of the kingdome. The Prince is most impatient to be with the Army, and becaus he beleevs Barwick to be the readiest way thither he will needs land at Barwick. Our stay wilbe I hope but short in Holland. If I come as good speed in obedience to the Committees comandts there, I have not made an ill voyage. It is not time for me to say any thing may looke like compliment. I shall therefor conclude with my heartiest prayer for your succes and for good news from your Army, which is the thing on earth most earnestly desired and passionately longd for by

Your Graces most faithfull, most humble, and kindest seruant,

LAUDERDAILL.

Downes, the 20 of August, 1648.

The Prince hath commanded me to write to your Grace, and all my freinds, that the restraint may be taken off from Pr. Rupert, which I finde is most earnestly desired by his Highnes.

[*Indorsed*.:—For your Grace.]

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1648, Aug. 20. 169. THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO THE EARL OF CALENDER.

MY NOBLE LORD,

Your Lo<sup>p</sup> will see the good succes of my imployment hithertills in the Prince, which I have sent to my Lord Duke, and all the particulars of it in my publick dispatch to my Lo: Lanerick, which I have desired him to copie and send to the Army. One particular which I did most earnestly desire I have not had that succes in, and that is concerning honest Sir W. Fleming. But the Prince accepts of it most willingly, only he delays it till he know his fathers pleasure, being ingaged to doe nothing of that kinde without his order. I shall trouble your Lo: no further but pray for good succes to you, and subscribe myself

Your Lo<sup>ps</sup> most humble servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

Downs, the 20 of Agust.

It is the Princes command to me to intreat of all my freinds that the restrant may be taken of Prince Rupert.

[*Addressed*:—For the right honorable the Earl of Calander, Lord Lieutenant Generall.]

1648, Aug. 21. 170. THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO [THE COMMITTEE OF ESTATES].

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LO<sup>PS</sup>,

In obedience to your Lo<sup>ps</sup> orders I have given the Earle of Lanerick L<sup>d</sup> Secretary a full accompt of my proceedings in pursuance of those commands your L<sup>ops</sup> honored me with. I doe humbly heer offer to your Lo<sup>ps</sup> those papers which I presented to the Prince, and the originall answers his Highnes was pleased to give me, by which his willingnes to comply with your Lo<sup>ps</sup> desires will appeare. The place he first means to come to is Barwick, for he is impatient to be with your Army. His Highnes told me yesterday that he wold write to your Lo<sup>ps</sup>, and yesternight he gave order againe for it; but it is not yet ready, and the tyde is now spending, the winde



faire, so I was unwilling to detaine the messinger; by the nixt your 1648. Aug. 21. Lo<sup>ps</sup> shall have it, and what farther I can say. The Prince hath commanded me to recommend earnestly to your Lo<sup>ps</sup> from him the Earle of Forth's interests, that he may haue his money, or at least ane act for it. This I can beare witnes, that he does heer all the good offices he can, and therfor I hope your Lo<sup>ps</sup> will grant his Highnes desire for him, which is his first to your Lo<sup>ps</sup>. I shall humbly beg that the bearer may speedily be dispatcht at least to meet me with what further commands your Lo<sup>ps</sup> will lay upon

Your Lo<sup>ps</sup> most humble and most obedient servant,

LAUDERDAILL.

Downes, the 21 of Agust, 1648.

[*Addressed*:—For your Lo<sup>ps</sup>.]

171. THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO THE EARL OF LANERICK.  
MY LORD,

I have stayd this bearer till this morning upon expectation of the Princes letter, which by the slownes of Mr. Secretary and the Councell is not yet ready. It will be but a complement, and therfor I wold not upon it indanger the loosing of a reall faire wind. It shall come by the nixt. All the change that hath hapned since is that, by reason of the scarsenes of victuall in the fleet occasioned by the great abundance of land men aboard the whole fleet is of necessity to goe to Holland with the Prince there to victuall, and this makes us delay sailing till to morrow. The cypher from my good Lord Willoughbie can not be read till the nixt. God send us a good meeting, which is heartily longd for by me, for truely I am a weary of wagging at sea. I had farre rather be at cuffles with you. For writing you know I am at sea and land

Your fellow in cipher,

L.

Downes, the 21 Agust.

[*Addressed*:—For the Earle of Lanerick.]

1650, Feb. 1<sup>a</sup>.172. CHARLES II. TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.<sup>a</sup>

MY LORD HAMLETON,

I have sent you the garter by Tom Bray, and shall say noe more to you upon that subject then what is conteyned in my publique letter. I have likewise lately advertised you that I intend to be shortly at Breda for a new treaty with my subjects of Scotland, and I cannot doubt but that you will contribute all you may to the good successe thereof and doe me all other faithfull service in your power, as I shall endeavour to provide for you and for all those honest men that engaged for my father with your brother and your-selfe, whereof I intreate you to be fully assured, and that I am

Your very affectionate friend,

Jersey, the ½ of Febra, 1649.

CHARLES R.

1650. July 17.

## 173. CHARLES II. TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

MY LORD HAMILTON,

I am sure there is no body that is more conserved with the ridgedness of this Kerke and State towards you then I am, and I desire you to lett me know if I can doe anything that may take off their cruelty, either by writing or any way else. Pray lett all your frinds know how sensible I am of their sufferings, knowing it is only for my sake, and that I am very much grived that I am not in a better condition to lett them see it, but I hope myne will mend, and then I am sure there's shall be better. The Docter has acquainted me with the busines concerning S<sup>r</sup> J. Scot. I doe assure you I will doe nothing in it but what you shall directe me in. In this and in all things else you shall ever find me to be

Your most affectionate frinde,

CHARLES R.

Falkland, July 17, [1650.]

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<sup>a</sup> William, second Duke of Hamilton.

## 174. CHARLES II. TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

1650, Aug. 6

132. Aug. 6.

I had written to you before now to lett you know I had receaved yours of the 23 July if I had not bine in the army, and evre since I came hether I have bine so narrowly wached by the severe Christians that I could not answer your letter before now. I thanke you for the care you have of my person, but indeed I thinke I had bine as saffe in the army as heere, for the soldiers were so kind to me upon my first comeng that the next day after the comission of the Kirke desired me to retire out of the army, pretending it was for the safty of my person, but indeed it was for feare that I should gett toe great an interest with the soldiers. I have commanded 163 to give you a particular account of all. I shall now only aske your opinion in two thins, the first is 281:192:258:91:308:100:379:3:108:327:13: whether it were not 6:70:199:65:330:153:237:56:190:329:290:38:3. The other is what should be done 302:192:353:308:106:108:17:120. I hope you stay where you are will not be long. I am sure I shall doe all I can that I may haue your company againe, which is very much wished for.

Your most affectionate friend,  
C. R.

## 175. CHARLES II. TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

1650, Aug. 14.

Aug. 14.

I have sent this bearer 270:16:135:9:190: to acquaint you with my condition. I desire you to give him credite in what he shall say to you. I entreate you to send me your opinion as soone as you can, what I ought to doe. I dare not say any more for they are so watchful over me that I doe nothing but they observe it.



1650, Aug. 31.

## 176. CHARLES II. TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

Aug. 31.

I have receaved your letters by him I sent to you, but I have not had time to answer them before now; nor can I answer you in all the particulars, but must referr you to 163, who will give you a particular account of all. I am extremely sensible of the kind offer you made me in your letter, but I doe not think it fitt to hazard your selfe upon so small an occasion, when it may be done without it; howsoever I have the same obligation to you as if you had don it. Concerning 331: 288: 198: 196: 6: 190: 22: 58: 135: 256: 58: 256: 380: 55: I desire you to direct me which is the best and safest way, because I doe not know who to imploy without suspition. I was thinking if you should send to 22 about it as being the proper person, but I shall leave it to you, and doe as you direct me, being one that I have so much confidence in.

1650, Sept. 27.

## 177. CHARLES II. TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

Sept. 27.

I have at last resolved that 85: 237: 70: 9: 50: 40: 384: 4: 10: 308: 290: 304: by the 174: 26: 82: 15: 30: 8: 3: you will receive the particulars from 122 and 223, and the reasons of it. I shall desire you to be thinking of preparing yourselfe 281: 329: 165: 244: 9: 4: 65: 56: 324: for to get you 20: 174: 36: 9: 40: 13: 15: 38: 61: 195: 289: 4: 5: 384: 380: 10: and for feare that our masters should have some design against your person, which I am very much concerned for, I entreate you therefore to have a great care of that, and be assured that in what condition soever I am in I will ever be

Your most affectionate frind.

FINIS.

## APPENDIX.

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### STATEMENT ON THE AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.

[State Papers.—Domestic, April ? 1640.]

The first designe of these late distempers was to lett his Mat<sup>tie</sup> know by some publique petition or remonstraunce that the Kingdome of Scotland could not well brooke the progresse of justice in the Lord Balmerinoe's cause, a Peere of that Realme, who being fallen into the displeasure of the Marques of Hambeton was by a jury of Lords, Knights, and others found guilty of treason, for making and publishinge certaine libells, though 't is confidently affirmed by many and sufficient persons that no such libells were ever dispersed, but onely found in the said Lords' secret chambers. Whereupon the Earle of Traquayre, one of the principall men in Scotland, all that time knowing the Marquesse's interest with his Mat<sup>tie</sup>, and likewise how fiercely he had proceeded against the Erle of Mounteth and the Lo: Ogletree,<sup>a</sup> did practize the jury with a good intent to finde the said Lo: guilty as aforesaid, promising that his Mat<sup>tie</sup> should onely enjoy the honour of a sentence, and that he would personally undertake absolucion should intervene the executing of any decree so to be made, all which the Erle of Traquayre did in apprehension of the Marquess his power; yet not well brooking such sinister dealings, and calling to minde the harshe usage of the Lo: Ogletree, his neerest kinsman, he did possesse divers of his friends and alleys that

<sup>a</sup> Ochiltree.

the said Marqu: grew too potent at court, dayly interrupting the common justice of both Kingdomes, which seemed to agree with the disposicion and accion of the party accused, who not long before obtayned from his Ma<sup>tie</sup> an entyre subsidy then given at the Parliament of Edinburgh to his owne private use, a thing never before heard of within the Realme of Scotland. These and such other discontents meetinge together dayly brought great multitudes into consideration what mought be done, which being well perceived by the Hambletons and that partie, they accordingly advertised him thereof, intimating how his affaires in Scotland could no longer goe under a cloude, but either he must putt this speedily to an issue, or else undoubtedly the Erle of Mounteth would take hold of this occasion and revive the busines of Germany againe, and the rather because Graham Erle of Monteth<sup>a</sup> was returned out of France, who being an active, ambitious yong gent[leman], beganne allready to speake loud words of it, and particularly discoursed with the Erle of Roxborough concerning those bygone deeds, who had formerly bin a great confidant of the Marq: and at this present stood very faire in his good opinion, though indeed 't is true my Lo: of Roxborough, when he had once spoken with the Erle of Mountrose, did never after so zealously imbrace the Marq: his designe.

So now you see how the affaires of Scotland stood after the Parliament held at Edinburgh, where likewise his Ma<sup>tie</sup> by one voice and the corruption of the Clarke Register passed an Act in the behalfe of the clergie, which the nobility began presently to review as most derogatory from their priviledge, and thereupon dispatched several lettres to Court, but never any satisfactorie answer was returned, first because the Erle of Traquayre durst not declare the trueth to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> least the Marq: should have made use thereof to the utter ruine of the said Erle, for then the Prelat of Canterbury began to trye the Lo: Marq: whither or no he would be a friend to the clergie of Scotland, who, as he never yet was backward in faire

<sup>a</sup> This is evidently a mistake for "Montrose."



deliverys of his speeches, did so fascinate the old fiery little man that he then thought himselfe master of his owne plott, to bring the 3 Churches in Scotland, England, and Ireland to be governed by one Metropolitane.

The Marq: upon this, seeing he could *ad libitum* make a firme league with the said Arch B<sup>pp</sup>, did not proceede rashly therein, but sent once more into Scotland afore hee would engage himselfe, from whence he was advertised by the Erle Casalis, his brother, that Mounteeth's party dayly increased in Angus and thereabouts, who, linking with the faction of the Stewards, would undoubtedly hatch something to his utter destruccion unless he speedily either brought them of or els diverted our designes with another, and hereof he was espetially advertised by the Hammiltons, who never liked the Stewards should make any head or covenant, and therefore advised the Lo: Marq: to loose noe time, which accordingly hee did not, but instantly repaired to the Prelate of Canterbury, offeringe to joyne with him in whatsoever hee should undertake concerninge the Kirk of Scotland, and then proposed severall waies of effectinge such reformation in the Scotch discipline as his Grace should represent, proposinge withall that it would bee most necessary of all to unite the 2 Kirks by one way of Lithurgy, which the Lo: Marques knew must presently kindle rebellion through the whole Kingdome of Scotland, like one who fires a house and soe hopes to escape unknowne in the crowde. Yet the Earle of Traquair being vigilant at Court, perceivinge what the Marq: would doe, presently wrote to S<sup>r</sup> John Carnegie, his brother in lawe, not to bee startled at any new greevances but to hold themselves onely to such points as concerne Balmerinock's tryall, or the Acts of Parliament lately passed at Edinburgh; otherwise, instead of oppressing the Hammiltons, that was the ready way to accomplish their designes, and withall hee gave the same intelligence to the Earle of Montrose, who had very lately returned thither much discontented out of England: Upon receipt whereof S<sup>r</sup> John Carneagie spake with divers of his friends, but the other faction soe increased,

the Earle of Argile seeminge underhand to goe alone with the greevances of religion afore any part of the temporall Government, as every day these lost ground more then other, soe that they were all forced to take one way, and unite in a covenant afore God to resist these innovacions in the Kirke, insoemuch as the Earle of Mounteeth could noe longer bee hidd, and Ballmerinock's tryall was wholly laide aside. The Hammiltons having thus gott their end by a potent and supernumerary faction, sent againe unto the Marq: letting him know hee had mastered the adverse party for this time, and therefore hee must see at court that these tales were kept alive, for upon the least quietinge of the people all the world could not a second time keepe it backe any longer. Whereupon hee did now presse the Bishop to send away the Kirke Service, who excused himselfe that it could not bee ready in ten daies, by reason it was taken out of the Liturgie used by Edward the Sixth, and therefore would aske more time to bee reviewed; whereupon the said Lo: Marq: presently gave intimacion of this, and not long after the service booke was putt into the hands of the Earle of Traquaire, and hee dispatched towards Scotland to see the publication thereof.

Now the way how the Earle of Traquaire came to bee thus entrapped was by the meanes of the Arch-B<sup>pp</sup> of St Andrewes and S<sup>r</sup> John Spotswood, who daily suggested unto his Ma<sup>ty</sup> that hee did but seeme consentings, and that within noe man could bee more averse to designe then the said Earle was, which afterwards some of his friends intimated to him. Whereupon happened a disturbance in the church at Edinburgh, and violence was offered to the son of the Arch-B<sup>pp</sup>, beinge the first breakinge out of those discontents, every man grew instantly possest of.

Thus the Marques of Hammilton made that party intended to have accused him criminall, and made them parties with the Bishops, who were their greatest enemies, and to settle his owne affaires in Scotland hee proposed to the Arch-B<sup>pp</sup> of Canterbury that he might have a Commission and instructions, pretendinge great services might

soe bee done as well concerninge both Kirk as Common-wealth, which now grow every day into severall distempers, for a Parliament was required by the people sayinge that the other Parliament was but a mock play, and the whole frame of justice must necessarily bee altered. Besides, the said Marques made many proffers of great parties within the Realme of Scotland, sayinge hee could finde soe many of his friends as to inforce whatsoever the people should refuse or dislike, but beinge arrived heere, the Borders, his brother in lawe, the Earle of Cassilis, mett him there, and gave him assurance from sundry Noble-men, Barons, and Burgesses, that unlesse hee would unanimously joyne with the nobility of Scotland in whatsoever they should undertake it would bee impossible for them to suppress the faction of the Stuarts any longer, of which hee assured the said Marques that the Earle of Roxebrough was now growne a faithfull member by meanes of the Lady Jane Drummine, his wife, whereat the Marquis grew much perplexed, in regard that Roxebrough had bene privy to all his Germane affaires.

Allso the Earle of Cassilis acquainted him farther at Berwicke that hee had lately gotten letters out of the north of Scotland wherein hee was verily informed the Earle of Argile waxed discontented, and gave out words, as if hee intended to putt six thousand men in a readines, but to what designe as yet there could bee noe assured knowledge, though by the frequent entercourse betweene Rothes and him, many men of Edinburgh guest some secret combinacion was toward, because the Covenant, though it were signed, lay still for some weekes, and bredd noe great discourse. This most of all troubled the Marques, who knew the severall ambitions both of Rothes and Argile, who in the late Parliament held at the King's coronacion had bene rich of trusty friends one to the other, both which at this instant were bent against the Marquesses waies, though Argile indeed never bore him soe intire a hatred as Rothes, because in his judgment hee held the Hammiltons a good counterballance to weigh the House of Lenox downe, with whom Argile had ever continued a deadly feude since the marriage of his daughter in



England to the Earle of Arundell's sonne,<sup>a</sup> but Rothes never left prosecutinge the cause soe long till Hammilton returned from the Assembly of Glasco much discontent, who since that time, fearing least Rothes and Monteeth should understand one another by Roxebrough, Mountrose, and Carneagye, hee thought best to begin shewes of makinge warre upon Scotland.

This the Arch-B<sup>pp</sup> of Canterbury diligently seconded, the rather because Mathew Wrenne, B<sup>pp</sup> of Ely, and most of the University of Oxford, which inclined any way to the Arminian tenetts, did by all meanes possible presse him daily to possesse his Mat<sup>v</sup> that it was now *bellum ecclesie*, and that hee could not desert the B<sup>pps</sup> without breach of his coronacion on the<sup>b</sup> from the prelats. Yet before the Marques would take a second ularum hee desired to heare out of Scotland whether the Earle of Roxebrough was lately gone with instructions, who writt to a noble Earle of that kingdome as followeth:—

MY LORD,

Many words cannot now bee well used betweene two that have soe many occasions of business, but your Lopp. may rest most secured that all our endeavours for peace are frivolous till the Marques of Hammilton bee thoroughly satisfied in his title against the Stuarts and Monteeth's faction lie level with the ground. Therefore, good cozen, doe nothinge with temerity, but expect to heare from me shortly againe.

Soe that 'tis plaine how the affaires of Scotland stood, whether the Marques shortly after repayred as a Comissioner, though hee had formerly gone there as a private person, and meetinge at Dalkeeth with the Councill of Scotland hee did there ingeniously confesse to most of the nobility present that the Kinge would heare noe reasonable petitions but upon great necessities, and withall declared the Lo: Balmarinock's case was very hard, therefore he desired to cleare himselfe of it, laying all the fault upon the Bishops of Scot-

<sup>a</sup> Argyle had been the suitor favoured by the King. The secret marriage caused Arundell's imprisonment in 1626.

<sup>b</sup> *Sic*, with blank following. Probably "oath" [received].

land, who provoked his Mat<sup>tie</sup> to bring the said Lord to an open triall for dispersing of libells. He likewise affirmed upon his honour that the Earle of Traquayre first advised his Mat<sup>tie</sup> at Newmarkett 1636 to make the Bishops of Scotland Privy Counsellors, and did usually maintaine them in all their insolencies, especially against the Lo: of Lorne, now Erle of Argyle, wherefore he gave them advice as his countrymen to keepe to their owne principles, least the English nacion, who now were in possession both of the Prince's person and affections, should encroach upon them; so instead of reconciling differences the Marques left all things more distracted then afore; yet still his instructions to Cassilis and Alexander Hamilton were to keepe the jealousies a foote till the partie of the Stewards were low enough at Court. Immediately after he departed for England, and meeting with two sickbrained fancies, the Arch Bishop and the Lieutenant of Ireland, he like a cunning gamster played his cardes there, and finding them both in one desire of a warre with Scotland, though it differed a little *de modo*, he did tickle in the pleasing vaine on both sides, which was the first beginning of all our dishonour and misery.<sup>a</sup>

For the one be assured that he would finde many grave and orthodox divines in Scotland should overcome the Covenanters in dispute, namely, D<sup>r</sup> Hamilton, and the other he did captivate with great promises in divers letters touching men and armes, though at that time he persuaded more to signe the Covenant then ever he detayned away from it. Thus the fox conseed both the beares, and the better to cloake his desseigne he offered to goe with an army into Edinburgh, proposing many great assistances, as that the lands of Banffe would give him great helpes in the North of Scotland by way of diversion, the Hamiltons upon the West Sea would absolutely joyne their forces to his, though at this very instant he moved the Erle of Haddington to sweare the Covenant. But the Lieutenant of Ireland was then meerely upon the defensive, and

\* This shows that the author was an Englishman.

carried this business very cunningly, yet his heart went along with any warre made upon Scotland out of animosity against that nacion; so he did neither abate nor discourage the Marques and the Prelat of Canterbury in their weekly intelligence, and under hand he gave his Ma<sup>tie</sup> great hopes of assistance out of Ireland, where he was weary of staying drawn abroad by a vast ambition to sitt at the helme in both Kingdomes, whereupon he designed to himselfe the conquest of Scotland.

Now the King having declared the Erle of Arundell Generall and the Erle of Essex Lieutenant Generall, and the Erle of Holland Generall of the Horse, thought it high time to haste towards the Borders, beleeving his people had great inclinacions to subdue the Scotts, for so the busines was handled by the nobility of England, namely, the Erle of Essex, Hartford, and Bedford, who dayly had instructions from the Lo: Viscount Say how to demeane themselves, when under hand the said Viscount sent one Lawrence, lately arrived out of Holland for the Lo: Lowdune in Scotland, to lett him know that nothing could make the Kingdome of England refractorie to a warre with Scotland unless they did unanimously resolve there to come in for the publique liberties of both kingdomes, as well in matters of conscience as otherwise. As also that in case this were not done then they should be forced to assist the King against them to recover a Parliament implicitly from him, which nothing could doe but great and visible necessities. Yet Mr Lawrence could not obscure himselfe from my Lord Hamilton's parties, who entertained spies in every part of Scotland, which this craftie man being advertised of, and what counsell the said Lawrence held with Rothus and Lawdune concerning the coming in of the Scotts, thought it was high time *cantare canticum novum*, yet being engaged to attend the King, he went to the Firth and lay there, which little incommodated the Scotts in their fishing, for the North Sea towards Aberdeane was open, whereby all their traffick came for secure and peaceful havens.

Besides my Lo: Hamilton likewise discovered in England that the



Erle of Bedford and the Lo: Say with their interest in the Erles of Essex and Newport, the 2 eminent officers of the army, since the Erle of Arundell was no wayes beloved by any of his souldiers, had made<sup>a</sup>

of the said army to their owne use and intencions, in case his Ma<sup>tie</sup> had resolved to attempt any thing upon the Kingdome of Scotland which still made him see that the time was not farre of when every man of the Junta, especially the *Triumviri*,<sup>b</sup> would be questioned in Parliament, for he well knew the King's coffers could not long fence against it, and now he saw the King was engaged in a way not easy to gett out of. Therefore from that day he became more moderate and even, and after received such of his confederacy as were sent unto him with new bookes, who being a crafty people, and à la *Gittara* understanding one another by the eye, tooke it for a sure rule of his conversion, and likewise thenceforward with an insensible alteracion beganne to construe his words and accions not after their wonted manner. Yet he the said Marques the better to hold his interest in the King, who now beganne to heare many whispers against him, made it still be given out by the Scotts then following the Court that if he were in Scotland they would surely teare him in peeces, though after the pacification, when he went to receive the Castle of Edinburgh, we never heard so much as any sharpe worde or looke from the natives against him, but on the contrary many severall times cryed God bless his Grace, which is as much with them as *Ave Caesar*. Thus still the Marques lay in the Firth with his shippes till the King beganne to treat with Commissioners deputed from the Scotch army, and namely, the Erle of Rothus, the Erle of Dumfarlin, and the Lo: Lowdune, with some others, who meeting dayly at the Generall's sente many bitter tants past publicquely between the Marques and Rothus, but when the King withdrew these two fierce enemies grappled in a friendly way, for certainly the Marquesses peace with Scotland was made during his aboade in the Firth of Edinburgh, and all discontents

<sup>a</sup> Blank in MS.

<sup>b</sup> Probably Strafford, Laud, and Hamiton.

were long afore the pacificacion at Barwick laid aside, as the Erle of Rothuses refusing to marry his daughter to the Marqueses sonne, and my Lo: of Argile to be Chancellor of Scotland, which indeed are prettie stories for a romance, because though written no man is bound to beleve a word of them. Now the better to collour all these illusions amongst them the Marquesse refused to goe as Commissioner any more, but putting it upon Traquayre, hoping it would be a good stepp towards his ruyn, and to make the house of Lenox low in the esteeme of the Scotts, therefore hee dispatched one suddenly into Scotland to the Hamiltons, giving them particular instructions to ingage him some way in contention with Rothes or Argile, and withall to intimate underhand unto the Earle of Rothes that when ever Traquaire were ruined hee would indeavour to make him Treasurer of Scotland, which would now bee more probably done then before, because the Kinge's wants were great, and hee must necessarily thinke of callinge a Parliament in England, where wee now grow soe agreed in matters of religion and Church government in the Arch-B<sup>pp</sup> of Canterbury that he beleevd the Scotts might there make what conditions they pleased, which came in a seasonable hower, for at this very instant M<sup>r</sup> Nathaniell Fines was gone to the Nationall Assembly called at Edinburgh, and Lawrence had not long before bene with Lowden, where they did truely represent the state of our affaires, whereby the Scotts were fully satisfied that the way to keepe England their friends was to thinke of an inroade upon the next occasion should bee given by the Kinge, who was noe sooner come to London but the Arch-B<sup>pp</sup> perswaded him to breake the pacification, sayinge it was both an unsafe and dishonourable peace.

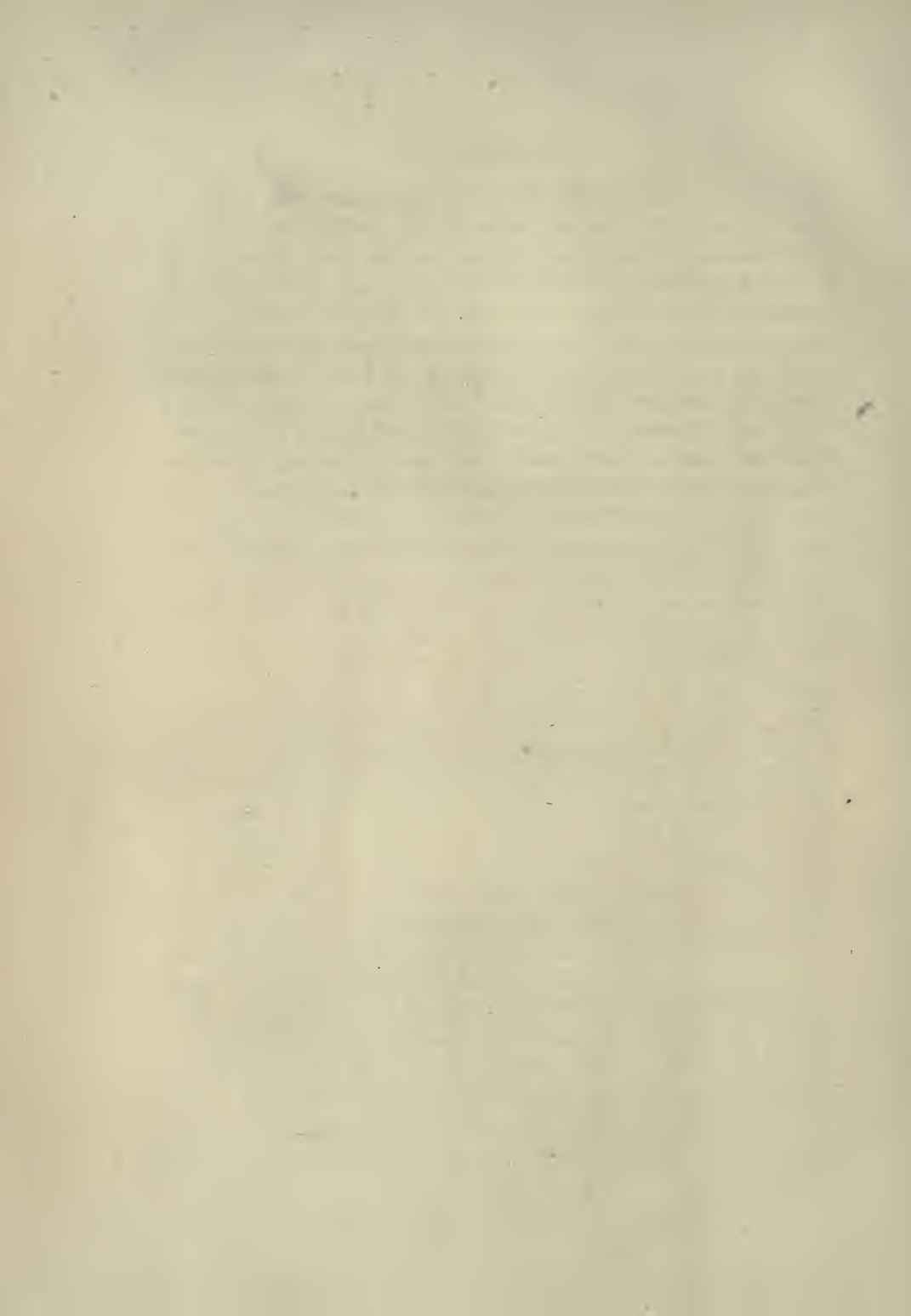
Yet for all this, though the Arch-B<sup>pp</sup> was fiercely bent against the Scotts even after the pacificacion, hee did ingage the Queene jointly with him in all his undertakings, which consequently drew along a very great party; insoemuch as the nobility of England, who began to apprehend the conquest of Scotland, dispatched two gentlemen towards the Covenanters, letting them know that they

did now expect they should when the season grew fitt make an inroade upon England, or otherwise all their designes were lost.

Which made the Scotts suddenly prepare, and the rather because it was then likewise promised the King's army should bee noe hindrance at all, as they would order the designe, havinge great interest both in the new made generall the Master of the Ordinance and divers other colonells. Whereupon my Lord of Argile, the most subtill amongst the Scotts, did first consent to these propositions, least otherwise the whole force of that faction in England should bee likewise bent against them, and soe joyninge with the Lieutenant of Ireland utterly extirpate the Scottish nation.

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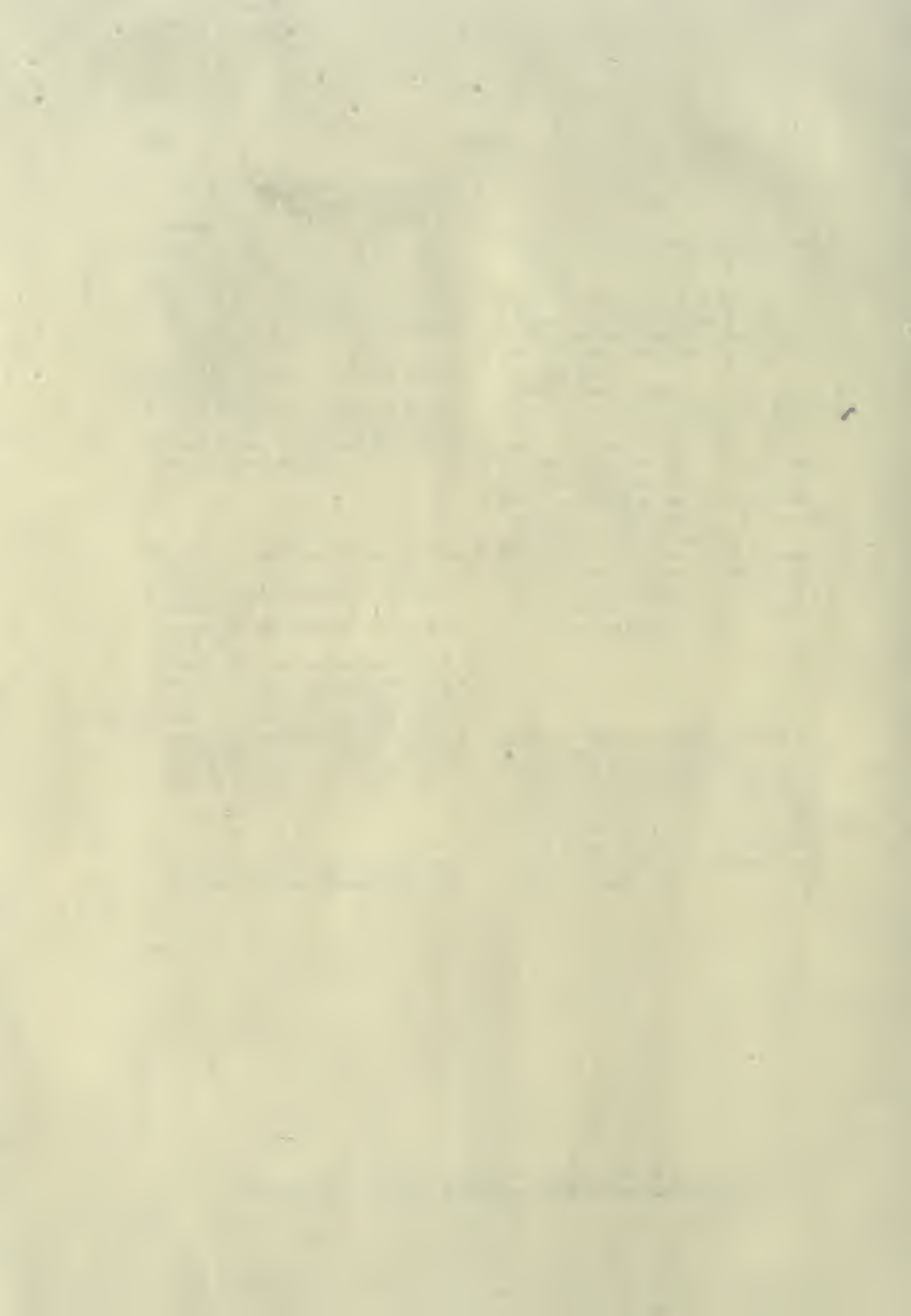
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